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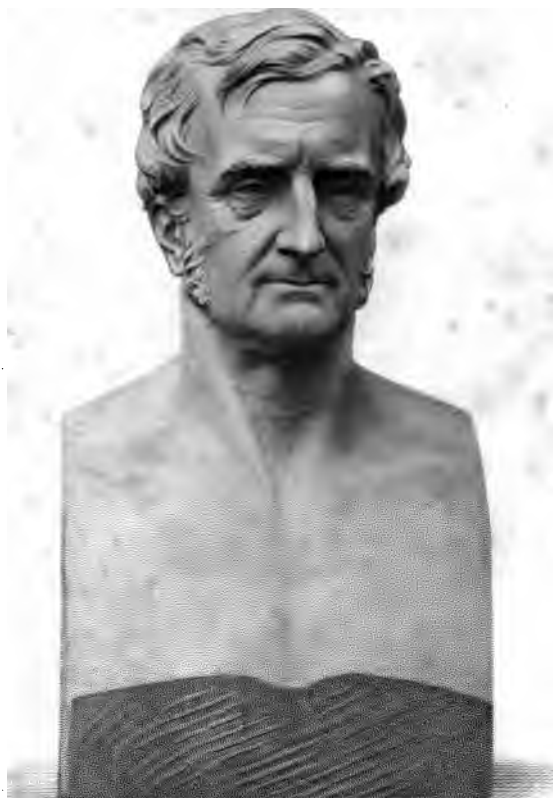












*James Affleck
Raglan*

Engraved by W. Holl, from a Bust

[Calthorpe, S. V. G.]
= Edm d Sturton
3rd Guards
LETTERS FROM HEAD-QUARTERS;

OR, THE

REALITIES OF THE WAR

IN

THE CRIMEA.

BY AN OFFICER ON THE STAFF.

Colonel The Honble Somerset
John Calthorpe.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

WITH A PORTRAIT OF LORD BAGLAN, AND PLANS.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1856.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following pages were written in the Crimea in the first instance, without any intention of publication, being merely a series of Letters addressed to friends in England. From the circumstance of the writer having been attached to the Head-quarter Staff of the Army of the East, he had many opportunities of hearing and judging of the opinions given, and the difficulties to be overcome, by the Generals of the Allied Armies; more especially, of course, as regards the English Commander-in-Chief, the late Field-Marshal Lord Raglan.

From these circumstances, he was induced by numerous friends to put his letters together in some sort of form, and offer them to the public.

Another circumstance which induced the writer to publish these volumes, was, that on his return to England, he found so many opinions and motive ascribed to Lord Raglan, which the Field-Marshal

never entertained, and so much calumny and abuse unjustly heaped upon his head, that the writer could not forbear, however feebly, from giving his version of some of the illustrious Commander's actions and deeds, and the difficulties with which he had to contend, as much in the council as in the field.

It is needless to remark, that although the following Letters, for the most part, are nearly word for word as they were originally written, still various occurrences, which at the time escaped observation, have been noticed, and extracts from the writer's Journal introduced, in order more clearly to connect the chain of events.

If by the publication of these Letters any transactions, however trivial, connected with the late Lord Raglan, are cleared up, which were before in obscurity, the Author, conscious that his single aim has been to speak truth, and do justice, will feel that he has had his reward.

London, July, 1856.

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LETTERS FROM HEAD-QUARTERS.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from England — Gibraltar — Fortifications — Malta — Gallipoli — Golden Horn — Constantinople — Pera — Kululi — Scutari barracks — Review of British troops — Arrival of Lord Raglan — Ditto of Prince Napoleon — Lord Raglan's house — Fire at Stamboul — Baggage animals — Mr. Filder, &c. — Arrival of Sir George Brown — Ball at French embassy — Presented to Marshal St. Arnaud, &c. — Arrival of the Duke of Cambridge — Loss of cavalry horses — "Sweet Waters" — Inspection of Divisions — Sultan's banquet to allied commanders — Officer drowned — Visit to Varna of allied generals — Departure of Light Division for Varna — French and English commissioners — Newspaper reporters — Grand dinner at English embassy — Loss of "Tiger" — Varna — General Beatson and Colonel Lloyd.

On board — Steam Transport, April 8, 1854.

WE left the Dockyard Stairs (Woolwich) this morning at nine o'clock, the band of the Royal Artillery playing us off to the tune of "Cheer, boys, cheer!" We took the hint literally, and cheer followed cheer from the troops on board as the steamer got into the stream; we were answered from the shore by the dockyard workmen and the crews of all the vessels near. It was curious to watch the countenances of

the soldiers ; some faces so full of hope, and glowing with excitement ; others so sad and dejected that one wondered how they could cheer so lustily. Here you had a young soldier already talking of how he would “ thrash the Rooshians ;” there you saw a veteran with some Indian medals on his breast, vainly endeavouring to suppress the tears that would come into his eyes as he gazed on his wife and little one standing on the wharf, and bidding him adieu, perhaps for the last time. However, all feeling must give way to duty ; so in a quarter of an hour every one was doing something to get things into order. We are somewhat crowded on board : here is the cargo :—2 general officers, 10 staff do., 3 regimental do., 13 medical do. ; a company of 120 men of the — regiment ; 46 officers’ horses, 1 cow, 12 sheep, and 4 pigs, and baggage and food for the same. There ! I think I have given you all. We have fortunately got a beautiful day, the sea smooth as glass ; so at present we are spared the horrors of sea-sickness. Our sailing orders are to touch at Gibraltar and Malta, and then to proceed to Gallipoli, and wait for further orders. My three horses

seem already pretty well reconciled to their situation, and look out with the same eagerness as ourselves for feeding-time ! They only have bran allowed them for the present, as oats are said to be heating, and likely to bring on fever when horses cannot be exercised. This letter is to go on shore by the pilot, who lands at Dover directly, so I must bring it to a termination.

Gibraltar Harbour, April 14, 1854.

We arrived here an hour ago, six A.M., having made thus far a most successful voyage, going at the rate of ten knots per hour all the way. We have had calm weather until yesterday. During last night we were pitching and rolling in a manner most uncomfortable for our stomachs, and great was the relief on entering the bay this morning. The entrance to the Straits is the most magnificent thing I ever saw ; and the view from the harbour here is quite beautiful. I don't regret now having come by sea, bad sailor as I am. This sight fully compensates for any amount of sea-sickness. Anything like the noise that is going on I never heard ! They are

coaling the ship ; and independent of the row caused by the coals being thrown into the bunkers, the sort of way in which the men employed chatter is quite wonderful. Such a jargon, too ! They look more like imps from the infernal regions than human beings. I hear these coalheavers are a curious set of men ; they live quite apart from the rest of the community on the rock. They are engaged by Government, and get paid very highly, but have at all times to be in readiness to coal any Government ship, night or day ; and, in spite of all the noise they make, they do their work remarkably well and quickly.

We leave this place as soon as the ship is coaled, which will take some eight hours. We are to be allowed to land, which, I believe, till now has not been permitted, thanks to Sir Robert Gardiner, who has given orders that ships with troops from England should be exempt from quarantine. The Spaniards are in horrors at this, and expect that all sorts of plagues will come among them in consequence. What humbug quarantine is, and how strange that civilised nations should continue it ! I will venture to prophesy that, should the war last for

five years, such a thing as quarantine will be unheard of in the Mediterranean. I really can write no more : this noise is past human endurance, so adieu.

At Sea, off Bay of Tunis, April 18, 1854.

I write now, so as to send you a letter from Malta, where we hope to arrive to-morrow morning. We ought to have been there to-day, but the Government coals we took in at Gibraltar have proved so bad, that the engineers have had great difficulty in making them burn ; and consequently we have only been going seven-and-a-half and eight instead of ten knots per hour. This steamer was employed, previous to the war, between Hull and St. Petersburg. The Government give the proprietor of her 820*l.* per week and find coal ! It seems a good deal of money, but the Captain told me that in her former employment she made even more.

I must now go back a day or two, and tell you in a few words how I employed my time at Gibraltar. N—— and I landed together, and wrote down our names on the Governor at his

house, which is called the Convent. As he was not well, we could not see him; but his son, Captain Gardiner, who is, I believe, Military Secretary, was most civil, and mounted us on two capital hacks, and gave us an order to see the galleries. Accordingly we rode through the lower galleries, and did the rest on foot. They are certainly very wonderful. There are now in the rock itself nearly 700 guns, and on the land and harbour batteries about 450 more. Everything has been done of late years to improve and strengthen the fortifications, and even at the present moment large works are in course of construction. We afterwards rode up to the signal-post, which is almost the highest point of the rock, being 1450 feet above the sea. The view from there is perhaps one of the grandest to be seen in Europe. The look-out man said that on a clear day you could distinguish the spires of Malaga—a distance of seventy miles! We afterwards rode across the neutral ground into Spain. The contrast between the English and Spanish sentries was great; the former so smart, clean, and erect; and the latter so slovenly, dirty, and slouching in gait. It is

strange that the Spanish Government should not put some of their best troops here, where every passer-by must be struck with the difference between the soldiers of the two countries; but they say, on the contrary, that the Spanish troops seen before Gibraltar are very bad specimens of their army generally. Later in the day we went about in a carriage; drove to Europa Point, and saw all that was to be seen. As they had not had rain on the rock for eight weeks, the place looked dry and parched up, and, with the least breath of wind, the dust rose in clouds. We left Gibraltar the same evening, and steamed into the Mediterranean with a fair wind, the sea running rather high. The next day (15th) we passed along the Spanish coast, having in view the beautiful Sierra Nevada mountains. On the afternoon of the 16th we were off Algiers; it was very rough, and no one cared for the scenery under such circumstances. The weather began to tell on the horses on board; many of them would not feed, and some showed symptoms of fever. At this moment (1.30 P.M.) we are off Cape Bon: the sea is every minute getting more calm. I will finish this at Malta.

Malta Harbour, April 19, 1854.

We arrived here shortly before eleven o'clock this morning. The entrance to the harbour is very fine, and to an unpractised eye looks excessively strong; but I am told there are some great defects in it, and that extensive alterations and improvements are about to be made. Fort St. Elmo has four tiers of guns, each consisting of twelve heavy pieces of ordnance; this work completely commands the entrance of the harbour. Shortly after our arrival I went on shore, and met numbers of friends in the Guards. It seems so strange to be shaking hands with men one had parted with a short time previously at a distance of over 2000 miles from home. Lord Raglan has not yet arrived, but is hourly expected in the "Caradoc" from Marseilles. All the infantry of the line, sent here from England, have gone on to Gallipoli and Constantinople; and only the brigade of Guards and the usual garrison remain. The Guards are to proceed to Scutari immediately after Lord Raglan's arrival here. I went to see the lions during the few hours I was on

shore. The Governor's house is very handsome, nearly as large as Buckingham Palace, and with far finer rooms. From the signal-post over the Governor's house you obtain a magnificent view of the island and town: you can see, in fine weather, thirty miles out to sea, and, by communicating by telegraph with the island of Gozo, ships are signalled seventy miles from Valetta harbour, coming from the west. The cathedral is fine, and well worth a visit: we were fortunate in finding the floor uncovered, which is not always the case, and therefore saw the beautifully inlaid monuments to the Knights Templars. The harbour is so deep that line-of-battle ships can go anywhere alongside the quays. We leave here almost immediately, at 6.30 P.M., for Gallipoli.

Golden Horn, Constantinople, April 24, 1854.

We steamed into the Bosphorus at 6½ this morning, and received orders to land at Scutari, on the Asiatic side. But I must go back to the day we left Malta (19th). We quitted the harbour in the afternoon; the sea was as smooth as if oil had been

poured on it, yet with such a swell that we rolled heavily. We got in a store of green forage at Malta, which did our horses a world of good ; and for ourselves the Captain purchased a turtle, which, being converted very speedily into soup, we as speedily despatched with the gusto of aldermen. On the 20th the sea became like a mill-pond : on the morning of that day we passed the "Medway" steamer, with the 95th Regiment, 900 strong, on board. The weather (21st) began to get very hot : we came in sight of land at 7 A.M. ; that is to say, we could see the top of Mount "St. Ziria," the ancient "Cyllene," in the Morea, which is 7900 feet above the sea.

Passing between the island of Cerigo and the mainland, at 4 P.M. we observed a large ship some three miles off ; she fired a gun, and after a few minutes a boat put off from her, and pulled towards us. The English ensign was hoisted at our peak, and was answered by French colours from the stranger. Shortly after, the boat came alongside of us ; we stopped, and a French naval officer came on board, and said that the ship in the offing was the "Premoget," a French

poured on it, yet ~~nothing~~ **was given**, to which our heavily. We ~~got~~ **with three others quite as** Malta, which ~~the~~ **manage to cram their** for ourselves the ~~the~~ **The "Premoget,"** not being converted ~~by~~ **eight hundred men and officers** speedily despatched ~~on board~~ **and some dozen** On the 20th the ~~the~~ **"Cambria" and** the morning of that ~~the~~ **taken troops to Gallipoli,** steamer, with the ~~the~~ **for more.**

board. The weather ~~was~~ **passing through the** hot: we came in sight ~~of~~ **the Doro passage** say, we could see ~~the~~ **off the entrance of** the ancient "Cyllus" ~~and~~ **and cast anchor for** 7900 feet above the ~~the~~ **weighed anchor at six**

Passing between the ~~the~~ **bedanelles; passed the** land, at 4 P.M. we observed ~~at~~ **eight o'clock, and** miles off; she fired a gun ~~at~~ **We found five** boat put off from her, ~~the~~ **five Turkish frigates** English ensign was hoisted ~~the~~ **English man-of-war.** answered by French colours ~~our~~ **our respects to Sir** after, the boat came along ~~the~~ **English troops at** a French naval officer came ~~from~~ **from towns that I** the ship in the offing was the ~~the~~ **city, with horrible**

I was told that they had been
 of many minarets and
 of thousand lights
 and we all agreed
 of the scene.
 N—— and I landed
 Embassy, where we
 received us most kindly.
 I was here three years
 the streets as narrow
 the number of miserable-
 the way, the same cun-
 with, "Take you to
 things very sheep for you,
 to get on board again.
 had been landed, and had
 stables, near the Great
 went up the Bosphorus
 the cavalry barracks
 over to the English.
 there, who was very
 barracks, and afterwards
 peace and coffee. The

Scutari Barracks, April 29, 1854.

On the morning of the 25th we landed early at Scutari, and went up to the barracks, and saw Colonels —— and ——, the A.Q.M.G. and A.A.G. They were both very profuse in their promises to provide us with quarters, but we waited hour after hour without getting them. Everything appeared in the greatest confusion; nobody knew where anybody was to be found, and all and each were looking out for themselves, so that new-comers fared badly. However, later in the day, N—— and I got a small room given over to us; the first thing to be done was to clean it, so we hired some of the soldiers who were lounging about to come and scrub it out. We dined on board ship again, as no eatables were to be got in barracks except rations, and there was no convenience for cooking; but, I am sorry to say, spirits and liquors of all sorts are very cheap, and the consequence is that the amount of drunkenness is frightful. The other night 2400 men (!) were reported drunk at watch-setting, and we have not above 14,000 men here altogether, if so many.

In spite of having had our room washed out, at

night, when we retired to bed, we were assailed by thousands of fleas and bugs, to say nothing of some immense rats, who gambolled about in our room all night like cats. I hear the men complain dreadfully of the vermin ; some parts of the barracks are far worse than others. It is an immense building, in the form of a square, with a great quadrangle inside. It is three stories high, and has covered galleries all round the quadrangle on each story. It was built some few years ago, by a French engineer, for 10,000 Turkish troops ; it is, however, not large enough to hold with comfort more than from 7000 to 8000 English troops. There is another building near, also very large, capable of holding 3500 more ; it is to be fitted up as the English hospital for 2000 patients.

Two battalions of the Guards, viz. the Grenadiers and the Fusileers, arrived early on the 27th instant ; the same morning there was a grand review of all the English troops for the inspection of the Seraskier Pasha (Commander-in-chief). We had about 11,000 men on parade, under the command of Sir De Lacy Evans ; the troops

On the morning of Scutari, and went up Colonels —— and ——, They were both very pleased to provide us with quarters, an hour without getting then in the greatest confusion ; no body was to be found, and a room out for themselves, so that we remained. However, later in the day, No room given over to us ; the room was to clean it, so we hired soldiers were lounging about to come and dine on board ship again, as we got in barracks except rather a convenience for cooking ; but spirits and liquors of all sorts, the consequence is that the atmosphere is frightful. The other night I reported drunk at watch-setting above 14,000 men here altogether.

In spite of having had out

... I understand the Sultan
 ... a palace on the Bosphorus, but
 ... and is going to get some house at
 ... near the troops. In the evening
 ... a returning from a café in Pera,
 ... dining, were made prisoners by
 ... and taken by them to their
 ... After some little remonstrance on our
 ... and, I fear, a little swearing, we
 ... of the guard to let us go home.
 ... a sergeant and file of men, to con-
 ... Magerie's Hotel. It appears that all
 ... lanterns after dark are liable to
 ... and, as we did not know this rule, we
 ... of providing ourselves with them.

Barracks, Scutari, May 10, 1854.

... writing you a regular letter this time,
 ... you to extracts from my journal, which
 ... give you more news and me
 ... The weather became very hot to-day ;

tidy, which I fancy suits his Lordship's taste better than the most magnificent apartments. All his personal staff have rooms in the house ; it stands in the midst of a small garden, the whole being surrounded by a high wall ; and, with the exception of the single sentry who paces before the outer gate, a passer-by would never believe it was the residence of the English Commander-in-Chief.

May 4th.—I made the acquaintance this morning of Major Dickson of the Royal Artillery, a most intelligent man. He is attached to the Quarter-master-General's department, as head of the interpreters : he was sent out by the English Government to Constantinople some years ago to instruct the Turkish artillery, and their present proficiency in that branch of their military service is chiefly owing to his exertions. I was only too glad to profit by his kind offer to go with me into the bazaars, as his perfect knowledge of the Turkish language gave me the advantage of buying things at half the price at which I should otherwise have obtained them. About eleven o'clock P.M. a fire broke out in Stamboul which lighted up the whole of Constantinople and the

and worth remembering, and which will be useful to know when in the field. He was sent out here some six weeks ago to purchase horses for the requirements of the cavalry and artillery. However, he has only obtained some thirty or forty horses, as he found it impossible to get them large enough; but he said he could easily have bought a thousand baggage-horses, only he had not authority to do so. It was only yesterday I heard that Mr. Filder, the Commissary-General, was wanting any amount of baggage animals. I believe at the present moment he has only some seventy or eighty mules, and yet for the most ordinary requirements on the commissariat he will want three thousand animals! And that number is of course independent of the ammunition and regimental baggage animals. In fact, the commissariat appear to have done nothing in the way of purchasing baggage-horses, although they have been here now for at least six weeks. Captain Nolan starts to-morrow for Syria, to try and buy horses for the cavalry there.

My 1st, Sunday.—There was service in each of the towns this morning in the open air. It was

Napoleon; the latter is most wonderfully like the pictures one has seen of his Uncle in his younger days. I think he affects his attitudes and dress as much as practicable. He was dressed in a French General's uniform, viz. tail-coat buttoned up to the chin, white inexpressibles, and Napoleon boots. He stood generally with his arms folded, and had a lock of hair falling over his forehead, as you so often see represented in pictures of Napoleon I. His manner is good, gentle, and courteous, and altogether one receives a favourable impression of him on first acquaintance. Marshal St. Arnaud is very different in every way; so energetic and demonstrative in manner, he gives you the idea of an actor; talks very fast, whether in French or broken English, and is withal most goodnatured. I can't say much for the beauty of Pera; the ladies were few of them pretty, and not well got up, being for the most part in gaudy dresses without any harmony of colour. Then there were at least five gentlemen to one lady, which is a decided drawback to the enjoyment of a ball.

This morning the Duke of Cambridge and his staff arrived; so that at last all the staff of the army

are here. I am sorry to see that some of the English newspapers abuse Lord Raglan for not making more haste in coming here : it is so unjust, so unfair, to condemn a man for doing what he is ordered to do by his Government. I will venture to say that Lord Raglan would have much preferred coming all the way by sea from England, rather than have had to go through all the *fêtes*, &c., at Paris ; for I don't know where you could find a man of more simple habits, or one who more dislikes anything approaching display or notoriety. The fear is—and one very generally felt by those about him—that he will overdo himself, for he is always at work, morning, noon, and night ; at present, however, he appears in remarkably good health.

Most of the 1st Division of Artillery have arrived, but they have lost twenty-seven horses on the voyage, out of about three hundred and forty. Many officers have lost horses coming out : General Estcourt, the Adjutant-General, has lost two ; Lord Lucan, commanding the cavalry, two ; many others the same ; and our liberal Government will give them sums for horse not exceeding 50*l.* ; for all, except first

only 35*l.* and 40*l.*, no matter how much more the horses may have cost.

It may perhaps be as well to give you the approximate number of English troops now in the East. I think the following nearly correct:—

In barracks at Scutari	..	..	..	7,200 men.
In camp at Scutari	..	..	..	8,300
In barracks at Kululi	..	..	..	2,000
At Gallipoli	..	..	..	4,000
Total	..	..	..	<hr/>21,500

The troops at the Kululi barracks are chiefly artillery; none of the cavalry have yet arrived, but about 2500 are under orders; probably many of this number will not be sent out for the next two or three months. There are also three more regiments of infantry to come from Malta and Gibraltar: when we are complete we shall muster about 27,000 men. The army at the present moment is very healthy: there are only about 200 patients in the general hospital, and most of these are only slight cases of fever. It was intended to have sent a large body of troops to the other side of the Bosphorus to construct field-works some few miles north of Constantinople, so as to prevent its being taken by a *coup-de-main*;

very pretty row to get there ; but once arrived, the scene is past all description. I can only compare it to a beautiful flower-garden in full bloom. On each side of the Sweet Waters are large green meadows, with a few weeping willows and cypress-trees ; and every here and there a kiosk, or summer-house, belonging to some Turkish swell. You will wonder how this can be like “a beautiful flower-garden in full bloom.” Your wonder will cease when I tell you that the flowers I speak of are thousands of Turkish women, dressed in endless variety of colour, sitting in groups by the water’s edge, or walking (more strictly speaking, waddling) about in twos and threes. Their dress is very simple, consisting of very large loose trousers, tied close round the ankle.—(N.B. The Turkish ladies’ ankles are for the most part decidedly bad, thick and clumsy ; feet ditto.)—Then they have a quantity of white, very white, linen over their shoulders, &c. &c. ; and over that again, covering all their head and neck, some thin gauze sort of stuff, which among the better classes is of so fine a texture that you can see through it quite as well as through a thin veil. Their bodies are wrapped up in some

Camp, Scutari, June 1, 1854.

I shall have recourse to my journal again, so shall begin where I left off in my last letter.

May 16th.—This morning Lord Raglan inspected the Light Division (Sir George Brown), consisting of seven battalions, viz. :—7th Fusileers, 19th Regiment, 23rd Fusileers, 33rd Regiment, 77th Regiment, and 88th Regiment, and the 2nd battalion Rifle Brigade.

May 17th.—Lord Raglan inspected this morning the 2nd Division, under the command of Sir De Lacy Evans, and afterwards the 1st Division, under the Duke of Cambridge : the 2nd Division consisting of 5 battalions of the Line, viz. 30th, 41st, 47th, 49th, and 95th Regiments ; the 1st Division consisting of the Brigade of Guards and the 93rd Highlanders : then followed an inspection of such of the Royal Artillery as have arrived. This evening a grand banquet was given by the Sultan in honour of the Duke of Cambridge : of course Lord Raglan and the principal English and French Generals were asked, and their staffs. The fête took place at the


Imperial band played, not bad, but too
 the palace guard was most magnificently
 indeed were all the attendants. After
 went and smoked out of pipes with amber
 pieces set with diamonds!! The following
 Lord Raglan and some of his staff left in
 "Chalac" for Varna, to meet Omer Pasha.
 Turkish Minister of War, Riza Pasha, and
 St. Arnaud also left Constantinople for
 Varna. There is to be a grand council-of-war there
 the Chief Generals and Admirals.

Aug. 20th. - There was a tremendous storm "of
 wind, lightning, and of rain" last night, and this
 morning we heard that an officer of the 93rd High-
 landers named Macnish, had been drowned in a
 ravine. He and a brother officer, when coming
 the parade-ground in front of the barracks to
 camp, had to cross this ravine, in which there is
 a stream a few inches deep; but the rain
 converted it into a rapid torrent some three or
 four feet deep: in endeavouring to ford it he was
 swept out his legs, and, it is supposed, washed into the
 sea. The companion also nearly met with the same

service for some time after they are landed. Some of the horse-transports have been sixty and seventy days coming out. Far better to keep the horses in England till they have steamers available that would bring them out in ten or twelve days: in so short a time the horses would not lose their condition, and would therefore be fit for active service the moment they arrived in the East. The commissariat are now getting on with their purchase of baggage animals, and during the last three weeks they have bought some 3000, and I believe many more are collected at Varna. There are 500 horses coming from Tunis and Alexandria, intended as remounts for the cavalry and artillery. I can't help thinking they will prove too light for either service. The weather is very hot; it was 95° in the men's tents the other day. Two French officers of the "Etat-Major" have lately been attached to Lord Raglan's personal staff, and I have made the acquaintance of both. One is Colonel Lagondie, and the other Commandant Vico,—the first, a very fat, powerful man, who speaks English perfectly; he is very well read both in English and French literature; certainly

lar. They appear to try and find fault whenever they can, and throw as much blame and contempt on the English authorities as if their object was to bring the British army into disrepute with our allies. Altogether they seem to write in a bad spirit, and in a manner calculated to occasion much discontent and grumbling among the troops, and therefore tending to injure the discipline of the army. A few days ago two reporters of newspapers went to headquarters, and asked for an order on the commissariat for tents and animals to carry their baggage, rations for themselves and their servants, &c. &c.; and when told that no provision could be made for them, appeared to think they were very hardly used, and grumbled not a little, and one, as he was going away, talked about the "respect due to the press"! In the French army no reporters are tolerated, and, though that is rather too strong a measure, I think, at any rate, some sort of constraint might be kept on these gentlemen, so that they should not send home the complaints of every discontented man, and keep people in England in constant agitation and anxiety by their reports of *official misman-*

before this of the loss of the "Tiger" steam-frigate near Odessa. She got on shore early on the morning of the 12th instant, in a dense fog ; it cleared off about 10 A.M., when, to the horror of all on board, they found themselves only a few hundred yards from the coast. The Russians very soon discovered them, and brought a battery of guns to bear upon the vessel from the cliff above them. These opened upon the unhappy steamer, and the first shot took off one of poor Captain Gifford's legs, and the second shot both the legs of a midshipman and killed him on the spot. The "Tiger" could only bring one gun to bear upon the Russian battery, as most of her guns had already been thrown overboard, in order to lighten the ship. Of course it ended in the crew being taken prisoners by the Russians, namely 260 men. The "Tiger" blew up towards evening, having been set on fire by the Russians' hot shot. So the enemy have not got a prize yet. Admiral Dundas sent a flag of truce into Odessa soon after, to ask after the wounded and prisoners. He received a most satisfactory report of them, and one highly creditable to the Russians.



said to be that they try to purchase in the country, and give the natives an order on their military chest, which they don't perhaps understand, or, at any rate, don't believe; whereas those who are buying for the English Commissariat pay in cash on the spot. During the last two days the weather has been very changeable, some days oppressively hot and others quite cold. It is rather trying for the health, and consequently the hospitals have got more inmates than they had.

June 13th.—The whole of the 1st Division (Duke of Cambridge's) embarked this morning, and steamed away for Varna soon after midday. I wish I was going too; we are all getting very tired of this place. The advance guard of the French division under the Prince Napoleon arrived this day from Gallipoli, and encamped three miles north of Stamboul. The division itself will arrive to-morrow.

June 15th.—I went on board the "Megæra" steam troop-ship to-day to see the Russian prisoners. There were 12 officers and 202 privates, all belonging to the Russian artillery. I believe they were taken by one of our ships off the coast of Circassia.

increasing their trenches, but there is reason to believe the Turks will be able to hold out against them till we come to their assistance.

June 20th.—This afternoon Lord Raglan left Pera for good in the “Caradoc,” and steamed up the Bosphorus soon after six P.M. The men-of-war saluted him, manned yards, and gave three cheers as the “Caradoc” moved off. On his way up, his Lordship stayed two hours or so and dined with Marshal St. Arnaud at his house on the Bosphorus, opposite Beicos Bay; the Marshal will follow to Varna in a few days. The 2nd Division (Sir De Lacy Evans) has by this time got to Varna, and the 3rd Division (Sir R. England) will arrive shortly. There are only now left two companies of infantry at Scutari as a commissariat guard; and I believe the 4th regiment is to remain at Gallipoli for the present for the same purpose. I hear the English transports are to return and take up two divisions of the French army from Constantinople to Varna, after they have landed ours at the latter place. By-the-by, as an instance that the French sometimes make mistakes as well as ourselves, I must tell you that a French officer of the

"Etat-Major" informed me that Prince Napoleon's division was kept waiting for three weeks at Gallipoli for want of shoes for the troops. The Foreign Office sent out here a short time ago General Beatson and Colonel Lloyd. General Beatson has made himself a name in India by his management of some irregular force; and he has been sent here to try and get the Turkish Government to give him the command of some informed cavalry to fight in the shape: no easy task, I fancy. At present they have given him none, but, I understand, have promised plenty. Colonel Lloyd is in the course of time to be sent to Persia and raise a corps among the natives to co-operate with the Allies; but that will be an affair of time. General Beatson is not under Lord Kitchener's command, and consequently can receive no orders from him. Colonel Lloyd is for the present attached to the staff.

CHAPTER II.

Distribution of forces — Cholera — Despatches —
 Shumla — Herr Walaki — Turkish Pasha — Ge-
 neral Silistria — Mr. Nasmyth — Captain Butler
 of city — Omer Pasha — View of Russian army
 Interview with Omer — Start for Varna —
 Cossacks — Deserted village — Forest —
 Dinner at Marshal St. Arnaud's — Country de-
 Arrival of Omer Pasha at Varna — Review —
 Country from the Dobrudscha — Lord Raglan — Sir
 Lord De Ros — General Estcourt — Com-
 Kustendje — Difficulties — Death of Cap-
 Projected expedition to the Crimea.

Varna, June 24, 1854.

"Gladstone" arrived in Varna Bay on the
 the 21st instant, with Lord Raglan and
 his staff on board. He was received by
 Paulet and Lord William Russell
 the "Bellerophon" and "Vengeance"
 (ships), and went on shore in the barge
 Lord Raglan's head-quarters, like
 the "Scutari," are of very humble appear-
 a small house at the back part of
 the gate leading to the Shumla road.

There are different houses at various parts of the town told off for the chief departments of the army. Sir George Brown has one overlooking the harbour, above one of the sea-batteries ; and near it is a large house (the best in Varna), intended for Marshal St. Arnaud. Sir G. Brown's Light Division is encamped about thirteen miles from here, at Aladyn, on the Shumla road. The cavalry are at Devna, twenty miles from this, also on the road to Shumla. The Duke of Cambridge's (1st) and Sir De Lacy Evans's (2nd) divisions are just outside the lines of Varna. The French have about 11,000 men camped two or three miles north of the town near the sea ; and to-day the greater portion of Prince Napoleon's division, about 7000 men, disembarked, and are stationed close by. There are also about 9000 Turks in tents quartered inside the fortifications of the town.

Varna looks well from the sea ; it is prettily situated on the north side of the bay, with wooded hills behind it. The town is all the rest of the Turkish towns, with streets and tumbledown houses, - ar

smells of every sort of abomination. It is all day swarming with troops, English, French, and Turkish. One great drawback to the town is the want of water, and what little there is is very indifferent. There is a well in the house where I am quartered, but the water comes up green!—not so bad, yet far from agreeable. The fleas are just as bad here as at Scutari, and the rats too, only, if anything, larger—great big grey fellows, that make me shudder to think of. There is a great deal of drunkenness here, I am sorry to say; unfortunately spirits are very cheap, and, I believe, of bad quality. The consequence is, that insubordination is not uncommon. The French have had to make two examples of men who refused to obey some order given them, and, when made prisoners, resisted, and struck a non-commissioned officer; they were both shot. The health of the troops at the present moment is good; but there are a great many cases of diarrhœa, and one case I heard of, a private in the 19th Regiment, died of cholera, after being ill only a few hours.

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Varna, July 4th, 1854.

On the 24th of last month, late in the evening, an aide-de-camp of Omer Pasha's arrived at Lord Raglan's with the intelligence that the Russians had raised the siege of Silistria on the morning of the previous day, and that the whole of the besieging force had crossed to the north side of the Danube, and taken with them all their siege guns and material. Lord Raglan immediately sent off two of his aides-de-camp to Devna, with orders to Lord Cardigan, commanding the Light Brigade, to take three squadrons of cavalry and make a reconnaissance and patrol into the Dobrudscha, so as to ascertain, beyond a doubt, that the Russians had altogether retreated from Bulgaria into Wallachia.

Shortly afterwards, much to my joy, I received an order from Colonel Steele, the Military Secretary, that I was to go with despatches from Lord Raglan to Omer Pasha, and that I was to make the necessary arrangements for my journey. It was uncertain where Omer Pasha would be by that time, and my instructions, therefore, were to go to Shumla, and follow him wherever he might have gone. Accord-

ingly I ordered a horse and guide to be ready at 4 the following morning, and I was also to be provided with an interpreter at the same time. My dress was as follows: leather inexpressibles, untanned Napoleon boots, and a pair of heavy hunting spurs; undress uniform frock-coat, and gold-laced forage-cap, with a white cover on. My sword, a Dean and Adams's revolver, and a hunting-whip; a small valise, containing two shirts, two pair of socks, two tooth-brushes, a comb, and a piece of soap, comprised my baggage. I also took my own military saddle and bridle with me, as I was to ride on hired horses all the way. The saddle I found a great comfort, but the bridle was unnecessary, as those provided by the natives for the animals were adapted for them.

I started on Sunday morning at 5, having waited an hour for the interpreter until my patience was exhausted. So I set off at best pace, with only a boy to show the road and bring back the beast I was riding. I chose the lower road by the shores of the lake; part of the way was very pretty; at times it was like riding through a park in England. I arrived at Devna at 7½ A.M., changed my

nag and guide, and at 8 o'clock started again. I heard that a squadron of the 8th Hussars and 13th Light Dragoons had already started, under command of Lord Cardigan, from Devna, and that two more squadrons were to follow. Rode on to Pravadi, where I again changed my horse and guide at 10½ A.M. It now became very hot, and consequently my pace diminished, so that I did not get to Yeni-Bazaar till 1 P.M. I then had some luncheon, and, mounting a fresh horse, pushed on towards Shumla. Before I had got far it began to rain, and in a few moments I was completely wet through. However, I got there at 2½: distance from Varna, by the route I came, a good sixty miles—not bad progress in hot weather. On arriving, the first thing was to find out whether Omer Pasha was there or not; so I went to his house, and, for a long time, could get no information of any sort. When I asked for Omer Pasha, the only answer I could get from the different ragged sentries was a shake of the head. At last I was fortunate enough to find a man who knew a few words of French, and from him I learnt that Omer had started for Silistria, so I had

nothing for it but to follow him. That, however, was easier said than done, as I had great difficulty in getting any horses. The reason of this was that there had been no regular communication with Silistria since the commencement of the siege; and as only two days had elapsed since it had been raised, of course the Turks had not yet begun to think even of re-establishing the post-horses which are kept all about this country as a means of communication on the different great roads. After a time I discovered a dragoman of Omer Pasha's, who had been attached to the Turkish Consulate at Vienna. He spoke French and German very well, so I had no further difficulty in procuring horses and a guide. He informed me that Omer had only left the town early that morning, and that he was going to sleep in the camp of a corps of Turks, then on the march from Shumla to Silistria, not more than 18 miles on the road. I therefore determined, if possible, to get up to him that night and deliver my despatches; however, I could not get under way before half-past 6 in the evening, but then set out at a good round canter. When about four miles on

doctor and interpreter to Omer Pasha. It was fortunate I fell in with Herr Walski, for soon after dark we came upon the rear-guard of the Turkish troops on the line of march. They surrounded us, and took us under escort to the officer commanding, who asked us no end of questions. Of course my Polish friend answered for me. The Turkish officer evidently did not like my appearance, and I believe he thought I was a Russian spy. At length he allowed us to proceed on our way.

It was pitch dark, and we were only guided by the distant watch-fires of the Turkish camp as to the direction we were to take. After repeated mistakes and blunders we came up to the camp at ten o'clock. We then had to go through another examination from the officer of the out-picket, but finally arrived at the head-quarters of the camp, distant from Shumla twenty-three miles. On my informing the aide-de-camp of the Pasha in command that I was the bearer of despatches from Lord Raglan to Omer Pasha, he immediately showed me into a magnificent tent, where I saw stretched on a divan in the centre the Pasha

fast asleep and snoring. He was soon wide awake, and received me with many salams and fine speeches. He informed me that Omer Pasha had gone to the advanced guard of his corps, some eight miles further. It was, therefore, useless my attempting to proceed any further that night; besides, my horse was completely knocked up. The Pasha went through the customary civility of pipes and coffee, and ordered a repast to be got ready for me. I soon took my leave of him, and on going out found that four of his aides-de-camp were in the act of evacuating a tent for my accommodation, and, on referring the matter to Herr Walski, I begged he would oblige them to return, as I could easily find a corner of their tent to lie down in. However, two insisted on turning out for me, and in a moment more I found myself seated on a most comfortable divan, with thick, warm rugs round me. I think I never felt more tired in my life. I had been riding all day, a distance of eighty-three miles, two-thirds of which were under a broiling sun, and the remaining third in torrents of rain. I had not been five minutes in the tent before I fell asleep. I had a

sort of indistinct idea of Walski informing me that supper was ready, but, although very hungry, I was far more sleepy, and therefore paid no heed to his invitation, and was soon in the land of dreams, leaving Walski to discuss the supper with the Turkish aides-de-camp.

The next morning (26th) I was awake by Walski at four. I instantly got up and went out, feeling most miserably cold and stiff from my clothes having dried on me. Much to my disgust, I was informed that my horse was ill and would not feed, and it was thought not able to go on; and, as I had nothing else to depend upon, I was at first rather in "a fix." On going to see my beast, I found him shivering with cold, so I thought the best thing was to warm him with a little rough grooming. I therefore set to work, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing the animal much better, and myself quite hot with exercise. Walski looked on at my performance with perfect astonishment, but he admitted that the horse seemed quite well again, as he commenced feeding with a good appetite directly my grooming was over.

Soon after six o'clock we started from the head-quarter camp, and proceeded on our way most leisurely, much to my annoyance; but as I was more or less dependent on my companion, to say nothing of being under obligations to him, I endeavoured to control my impatience with the best grace I could, especially as he repeatedly assured me that we should be up with Omer Pasha by his breakfast time. Our road lay for some miles through copses and underwood. The Turks were bivouacked in every direction, and apparently without much order or regularity. Herr Walski informed me that there were 40,000 men in the encampment, *en route* to Silistria. I am inclined to think this, however, an exaggeration on his part.

On arriving at the village where Omer Pasha had slept the night previous, I was not a little disappointed to find that he had started for Silistria, in a carriage and four, only half an hour before my arrival. I felt very indignant with Walski, as it was all his con-founded dawdling that made me so late. I therefore determined to get rid of him the first opportunity and push on by myself; the only drawback was that I had

no one to show me the way, and going by compass is rather difficult work when you have no landmarks also to guide you. The country we were then passing through was flat and wooded, and therefore presented no feature that would in any way assist in keeping me in the right direction. Under any circumstances I had no chance of overtaking Omer Pasha before his arrival at Silistria ; so we journeyed on as before till half-past two P.M., when we got to the village of Rhamanachikler. (There's a name for you ! but it's quite correctly spelt.) I made every effort here to try and hire fresh horses, and, after much talking, a peasant said he would go and try to catch two of his which were out at grass. Whilst waiting the return of this man, Walski informed me that Behrim Pasha was in camp close by. I knew the said Behrim to be an Englishman, so without more ado went out, and in a few minutes arrived at his tent. To my surprise I recognised a well-known face under a fez ; and then discovered that the English Pasha and General Cannon were one and the same person. I had often met him at Chobham camp, when he was attached to Sir De Lacy Evans's

staff as Brigade-Major. He received me most kindly, and, on my informing him how I came to be there, he said he would do all in his power to further my wishes. He was himself on his way to Silistria, and was going there in order to take command of some Turkish troops to be employed higher up the Danube, and was pushing on to overtake Omer Pasha. He begged I would accompany him, and ride his horses, and live with him as long as I was able. Very kind and civil. He ordered me a capital luncheon, which was very acceptable after two days of Turkish living. I took leave of Walski shortly after, and the fresh horses arriving I was ready to set off again.

Behrim Pasha broke up his camp soon after five o'clock, and we proceeded on our way. He told me it was hopeless trying to overtake Omer Pasha that night, as he was gone to visit various military posts on the Danube, and that he would not arrive at Silistria till noon the following day; and that long before that time we could easily reach Silistria. We marched about fifteen miles, and then, having arrived at a deserted village called

Akadanar, we camped for the night. General Cannon, Colonel Ogilvy—an English officer attached to General Cannon's staff—and myself slept in the village mosque—not half a bad place—and after an excellent dinner, considering the circumstances, we made ourselves comfortable for the night, and were soon sound asleep. I had marched this day about forty-five miles.

On Tuesday morning (27th) we were all astir before four o'clock, and half an hour later on the line of march. We had a most charming ride through a forest for some ten or twelve miles: I never saw anything more pretty; at times like parts of Windsor Park, only the oak-trees not so large or fine. We arrived within sight of Silistria (about two miles from it) at ten o'clock A.M., having come about twenty-one miles this morning. When half a mile from the town we found the greater portion of the garrison drawn up in parade order to receive Omer Pasha, who was expected hourly. From where we were, in front of Fort Medgidie (the strongest of the forts round Silistria), we could see the Russian army encamped on the opposite side of the Danube, at a distance of five miles or

so. I must say my heart beat with excitement at this first view of the enemy.

Mr. Nasmyth (one of the distinguished English officers who so nobly defended Silistria) came up whilst we were standing talking and remarking the Turkish troops, and General Cannon introduced me to him. His appearance at once prepossesses you in his favour; very goodlooking without being positively handsome, rather pale and delicate, with quiet, gentlemanlike manners, quite young. He immediately informed us of the sad news that Captain Butler, the hero of Silistria, was dead. He expired on the morning of the 22nd ult., and was buried with military honours on the 25th, in the Greek cemetery close to the town. His death was caused by a wound received some days previously, when looking through a newly-constructed embrasure in the Fort of Arab Tabia; a bullet from a Russian sharpshooter hit him on the forehead, and would doubtless have caused instant death, had it not first of all passed through some earth at the side. He is a loss to the army and to the country at large, a man whose name will go down to posterity as one of England's heroes. Poor fellow! he had just been removed

from the Ceylon Rifles into the Guards, and made a brevet-major, but he did not live to hear of these rewards for his services.*

* The following letters, although they were before the public in the London journals of July, 1854, may not be uninteresting to some of the readers of these pages :—

Letter from Lord Hardinge to Lieut.-General the Hon. Henry Butler.

SIR,

Horse Guards, July 17, 1854.

I have heard with the deepest regret of the loss which you and the army have sustained by the death of your distinguished son, Captain J. A. Butler, of wounds and fatigue at the siege of Silistria.

During the whole of that siege your son displayed very rare qualities, combining with the skill and intelligence of an accomplished officer, the intrepidity of the most daring soldier—at one moment gaining the confidence of the garrison (over which he had only the authority of a very young volunteer) by the example of his personal valour—at another prolonging the defence of the place by the prudence and firmness of his counsel; and on all occasions infusing into those around him that spirit of heroic resistance which led to its triumphant defence. I deeply deplore your affliction in losing such a son, but your sorrow is felt by the country, the army, and the Sovereign. The Queen had recognised his merit by placing him in the Guards, and conferring upon him army rank, trusting that he might pursue a career of which all were so proud at that time, not being aware of the dangerous state of his health. The blow is unexpected and most severe, but I trust you will bear up against it by the fact that your son's services have been most valuable to his country in promoting the success of a just war; and I hope I shall not give you pain by alluding to another son—Capt. H. T. Butler, of the 55th regiment—selected for employment on the Quartermaster-General's Staff, when the army first embarked for Turkey, solely on account of the ability he had shown in his studies at the Royal Military College.

I trust

Nasmyth told us that Omer Pasha would probably not arrive for two or three hours, so I gladly accepted his offer to go with me round the Russian trenches and

I trust that the well-earned fame of the one son, and the rising merit of the other, will, under Providence, be a source of consolation to you at this moment of extreme affliction.

Pray accept, my dear General, the condolence of

Your very faithful servant,

(Signed)

HARDINGE.

Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. H. E. Butler.

Extract of a Despatch from General Lord Raglan, G.C.B., to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, dated Varna, 4th July, 1854.

"He brought also the painful intelligence of the death of Captain Butler, who had been supposed to have received only a slight wound, which however proved so serious that he sank under his sufferings one or two days before the siege was raised by the Russians.

"This officer had so greatly distinguished himself, and had in all he had done shown so much prudence, courage, and ability, that his death cannot be too deeply lamented.

"I beg to enclose a copy of a further despatch from Omer Pasha of the 1st instant, in which your Grace will see with satisfaction that the services of the late Captain Butler, as well as those of Lieut. Nasmyth and Lieut. Ballard, of the East India Company's army—the last of whom, though late in Silistria, exerted himself most ably and gallantly in aid of the defence—are fully recognised and appreciated by his Highness."

Extract of a Letter from Omer Pasha to Lord Raglan, dated 1st July, 1854.

"Parmi les braves qui ont pris part à la défense glorieuse de Silistrie se trouvaient deux officiers Anglais dont je ne dois pas oublier les noms. Le jeune Capitaine Butler, arrivé pendant

field-works, and also those constructed by the Turks during the siege. We commenced by going into the earthwork called Arab Tabia, a small redoubt that one would scarcely have thought could have checked the progress of a siege for any length of time. It had been so completely battered about by the Russian cannon, shot and shell, that the old outer line of the work could not be recognised. On the Turks finding that their parapet was falling from the Russian fire, they were for abandoning the work, but Captain Butler told them that they must construct another parapet in rear of the first; this was done, and again on that being destroyed they made another in rear of the second parapet. This also was getting rapidly into a state that rendered it of but little if any protection to the garrison, so a third inner parapet was ordered by Butler to be made,

l'hiver avec M. Nasmyth au quartier-général de Chumla, était à Silistrie au moment où les Russes commençaient l'attaque contre la place. Tous les deux pouvaient se retirer, mais, la voix de l'honneur parlant haut chez eux, ils préférèrent de rester, dans l'idée d'être utile dans la lutte qui se préparait. Leur exemple, leur conseil, ont puissamment contribué à la conservation des forts attaqués. . . . Malheureusement, M. Butler, blessé d'une balle au front, a trouvé là une mort glorieuse; mais sa mémoire ne périra pas dans l'armée Ottomane."

which was in fact outside the rear parapet of the old fort ! However, the Russians raised the siege before this was completed ; and when I went over the work with Nasmyth it was just as it had been left on the morning they retired. We afterwards visited a fort or earth field-work, called Ylauli ; this had repelled three attacks of the Russians, and was never once occupied even for a moment. We then went over all the Russian parallels and approaches ; they were of a strength and extent enough to attack a fort of much greater importance than Arab Tabia. Their works were confined entirely to that side of the town, and long approaches and numerous batteries were made up to it all the way from the Danube. All the Russian works appeared admirably constructed, and must have given them great labour. They had also raised several strong redoubts overlooking the Danube on the south side, none of which could have been made without much trouble.

The Russian retreat must have been admirably managed ; they had but one bridge over the Danube, and yet in one night they moved the greater part of their infantry, from 30,000 to 40,000 men, and all

their siege train, across the river ! I went all over the ground they had camped on, and yet could not find a single arm of any sort, or any uniform or accoutrements, left behind. There was one portion of ground marked off ; it was the burial-ground ; and here I counted 174 mounds of earth. The Turks say this was where the Russian officers were buried who were killed during the siege. I was standing there with Nasmyth when we heard the guns of the fortress commence firing. It was a salute to Omer Pasha, who was now approaching the town. We therefore turned our horses towards where he was coming. I rode up to him with General Cannon, who introduced me to his Highness, and I then presented my despatches. Omer Pasha received them with evident pleasure, and was most civil to me. He was accompanied by an enormous staff of officers and dozens of pipe-bearers and attendants, and no end of grooms leading spare horses, &c. Then he had three carriages and four, no great shakes certainly, but still carriages ; one of them was a closed sort of barouche, which I was told was supposed to be occupied by Mrs. O. P. He

ordered up one of his horses, and begged I would come and ride with him. In a moment after I was mounted on a charming chestnut Arab, with the most gorgeous gold shabraque I ever saw. He asked me many questions about Lord Raglan, and professed the greatest respect and regard for him. He then inspected the garrison that was drawn up as I have above told you. There were about 14,000 men on parade, the greater portion of whom had been engaged in the siege. He made a speech to each of the different regiments and brigades, complimenting them on their bravery, and telling them what a triumph they had gained over the Russians. He then went all round the Russian works; in fact doing just what I had done with Nasmyth. He told me when we were inside the fort of Arab Tabia that Captain Butler was the "Saviour of Silistria," and passed some high praises on the courage and judgment of all the English officers who had taken a part in its defence. We went to a spot near the Danube, on rising ground, whence we had a magnificent view of the Russian position. Here the whole party dismounted, and, Turkish fashion, sat

upon the ground, and in five minutes every one was provided with coffee and pipes. I must say these fellows understand making themselves comfortable. We then discussed the Russian army, their probable movements, &c. &c.

Nothing could be much more striking than the view from where we were seated; the Danube flowing at our feet, in sight for ten or twelve miles on our right and left; it is here nearly half a mile broad. Before us, on the opposite side of the river, an enormous plain, over which you could see nearly twenty-five miles. On this plain was the Russian camp. Its centre rested on the town of Kallarás, and extended for about two miles on either side. The nearest point of the Russian camp to the walls of Silistria was said to be two miles and a half. The Russian force was variously estimated at from 120,000 to 150,000 men. I should think, however, the former number quite the outside. With our telescopes we could easily count the enemy's tents, and see the videttes and pickets at intervals round the camps.

After gazing for a long time at the imposing scene before us, we mounted our horses and rode

into the town of Silistria at four o'clock in the afternoon. On the way I met Captain Bent and Lieutenant Burke of the Royal Engineers, who were sent up to Silistria by Lord Raglan to assist poor Butler and Nasmyth. They arrived the morning of the raising of the siege, much to the chagrin of both. The town is completely battered to pieces; I don't think there is a single house that is uninjured. The siege lasted nearly six weeks, during which time the Russians threw into the town 15,000 shells from the batteries on the north side of the Danube, and several thousands of these were 10-inch shell. The town is completely deserted except by the troops, we therefore chose our own quarters. General Cannon had sent on an aide-de-camp to take a house for him, and accordingly we found him in possession of one of the best houses in the town; but even this had had two 10-inch shells through the roof, and seven round shot through different parts of the walls. Nevertheless we made ourselves pretty comfortable, and then partook of a wonderful dinner—fish just caught in the Danube, really capital; country wine well iced, of which there was any amount. I don't think I

ever enjoyed iced champagne half so much as I did this cool country wine.

In the evening I had an audience with Omer Pasha, which lasted about an hour. He spoke chiefly on the prospects of the war and on the late siege. He said he intended having a monument erected in Arab Tabia to the memory of poor Butler, and proposed that it should be made of the Russian shot thrown into the town and works, and for them to be molten together and made into a sort of pyramid. He repeated again to me how much he liked Lord Raglan, and how he respected the English army, and said many kind things to myself, and asked me to stay a few days with him. That, I said, was of course out of the question, as my orders were to return as soon as possible. He said, in that case he should not wish to delay me, and would have his answer to Lord Raglan's despatch ready early the following morning. I told him I should like to go back to Varna by the direct route. He at first objected to this, as he said there might still be Cossacks lurking about; however, on my rather pressing it, he said he would send an escort of six Bashi-Bazouks with me,

carrying despatches from Omer Pasha to Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, also from General Cannon and Colonel Dieu to their respective commanders-in-chief. It was a dreadfully hot day, and therefore I could not go fast, as my horse would have been knocked up, and I had no other to fall back upon. I arrived at the large village of Kainarzik at two P.M., and found it quite deserted, and in flames in three different places. It had been set on fire (so my chief Bashi informed me) by the Cossacks the day the siege was raised. I stayed here for half an hour, resting under the shade of a magnificent mulberry-tree, the fruit of which I appreciated much.

Soon after leaving Kainarzik we entered the forest, which is quite beautiful. At half-past three o'clock, to my great surprise, I met a party of the 8th Hussars and some fifty Bashi-Bazouks under the command of Captain Tomkinson and Cornet Clowes, both officers of the 8th, whom I knew intimately: we had a quarter of an hour's chat together. They had orders to patrol as far as Kainarzik, and to return the following day and join the remainder of Lord Cardigan's cavalry. After this little inci-

dent I proceeded through the forest, and at half-past five o'clock came to an uninhabited village, where, as our horses were getting very tired, I had intended to stay for the night. However, it turned out that there was no water to be found; the wells were all dry; I therefore determined to push on, and I informed my Bashi-Bazouks, in my best Turkish, of my intention. However, after a moment's conversation among themselves, they quietly began unsaddling their horses. I expostulated; the chief Bashi made me understand that they and their horses were tired, and would therefore go no further. I began to get just a *little* angry, and told them again to go on. They took no notice; so I determined to show them that when an English officer spoke he was always obeyed. Accordingly I undid my hunting whip, which had a good heavy telling thong, the Bashis looking at me all the time, not knowing what to make of it, yet, I fancied, not feeling quite comfortable. I then repeated once more my summons for them to move on. None of them stirred; so, seeing there was no other way of enforcing obedience, I gave the head Bashi a most sounding lash across

scoundrels: he was perfectly astounded; however he had not much time for astonishment, for another and another blow descended on his unhappy back, and he getting harder than the last. The effect was magical: one and all were on their horses in a moment, and set off along the road as hard as they could lay legs to the ground. You never saw anything so absurd, and, angry as I was, I could not help laughing. I galloped after them, and lashed each two or three times, when, being blown, I put up my whip. By degrees our pace subsided into a walk, but it was wonderful how lively both men and horses were whenever I came alongside of them. I saw on their miserable fear—so plainly stamped on their human face as on these magnificent Bashis—who I looked at them. I thought, supposing I were now a party of Cossacks, what a capital sport I should have with these miserable cowards who had dared to drive my escort in front of me. It was very ridiculous.

At about half past six we arrived at another station, where at this time there was abundance of good hay, and several wells.

Distance from Silistria 34 miles, I should think. Here I stopped for the night, and supped off a piece of dry bread and some water. I lay down against the doorway of a small house, with a large fire at my feet, and my precious escort lying outside the fire in a half-circle, the horses picketed again behind them. I got little or no sleep, for there were thousands of mosquitos who tormented me all night, and, although I was dead tired, I was only too glad when daylight came at 3½ A.M.

29th.—I started at four o'clock, and marched without stopping till half-past eleven (seven hours and a half at a stretch,—not so bad), when we arrived at Bazzardschick, or Basardschick, quite a large town, but wholly uninhabited. I counted five mosques. The first four hours of my journey to-day was through forest, but afterwards nothing but open downs. I stayed only twenty minutes at Basardschick to water the horses, and then went on till 2½ P.M., when we came to the first inhabited village since Silistria, which must be at least 60 miles distant. I stayed here for an hour, and, getting some black bread and sour milk from the

natives, I made an excellent luncheon. We again started, and reached the village of Balchick at 5½ p.m. On the road I had another row with my head Bashi for not keeping up. The truth was, we were all getting pretty well done up, but I was determined to get into Varna that night, so it was out of the question any lagging. I stayed at Balchick only long enough to get a guide to conduct us a short route through the forest, and then proceeded. Just beyond the village we obtained a fine view of the allied fleets at anchor in the bay, about three miles off the land. After passing for about six miles through the forest, we came again on to a sort of high plateau of open country, and this continued till within three miles of Varna, when we descended through underwood to the town itself. I arrived at Varna at half-past eight o'clock, having ridden this day above 60 miles. Our poor horses were completely knocked up, as indeed we ourselves were, for the day had been intensely hot.

I found, on my arrival, that Lord Raglan was at a grand dinner given by Marshal St. Arnaud to the English Generals; so I went down to the Marshal's

house, and sent up word to Colonel Steele, the Military Secretary, that I had arrived with despatches from Omer Pasha from Silistria. This caused no small commotion, and the Marshal insisted on my coming up to the dinner, where I found about thirty general officers (French and English) at table, among them Prince Napoleon and the Duke of Cambridge. The Marshal was most civil, and made me sit between him and Lord Raglan, and, whilst I was eating, of course delayed me with every sort of question as to what I had seen, &c. &c.; and, as I was the only officer who had as yet seen the enemy, you may imagine that I was quite a lion for the time being. My announcement of poor Butler's death caused quite a sensation. Marshal St. Arnaud kept on saying, "*Pauvre jeune homme! Pauvre jeune homme!*" and all seemed saddened by the intelligence. I got to bed about midnight, never more delighted to "turn in" in my life.

I have written you a long account of my journey, but with little description of the country through which I passed. From Varna to Shumla, after leaving Pravadi, the road lies over very uninteresting ground,

chiefly great downs, with here and there patches of low shrubs, very monotonous. However, the approach to Shumla is fine ; the town is situated in a deep valley, surrounded on three sides by lofty hills, covered with thick woods ; the contrast of the numerous white minarets of the different mosques in the town against the dark background is very striking, and has a picturesque effect. On coming into Shumla you are of course disgusted by the usual sights and smells of an eastern town — everything looking wretched and miserable, and being a century behind the rest of Europe. The few hours I was at Shumla made me wish never to visit it again. The road thence to Silistria begins by being much the same as it was from Pravadi, only more barren. About thirty miles on it improves and enters the forest, which continues, with occasional intervals of open ground, till within a few miles of Silistria. I know nothing more enjoyable than riding under the shade of trees on a hot day through a magnificent forest. There appears to be a scarcity of water in these Bulgarian woods, and consequently but little game of any sort. There are, however, numbers of doves, which seem very tame,

as they sit cooing on the branches of the trees, without disturbing themselves in the least as you pass along. The forest between Silistria and Basardschick differs from the other, inasmuch as the trees are chiefly different kinds of birch, and occasionally large quantities of fir ; whereas, in the other, oak is the prevailing tree. At times these woods reminded me so much of the " Old Drive " at home ; thinking of home threw me into a reverie that brought back so many old scenes and doings of my younger days. I could almost fancy I was really riding in those well-remembered paths, and had to look back at my savage escort to convince myself that I was really far away from those sylvan scenes of my youth. Pray pardon this small bit of sentiment.

On Friday the 30th I went early in the morning to see Captain Butler, 55th Regiment (he is on the Quartermaster-General's staff attached to the 1st Division), brother to poor Butler who was killed at Silistria. The Duke of Cambridge had already very kindly told him the sad intelligence, so I was saved the painful duty of informing him of his loss. Poor fellow ! he appeared to feel it most keenly, yet he was

very calm, and asked me every detail respecting his brother's death and last wishes.

On the 1st of this month the 1st Division marched from their camp near Varna to some eight miles on the Devna road, and encamped close to the old ground of the Light Division at Aladyn. The Light Division has moved on to some high ground above Devna, not far from the cavalry camp. Yesterday the 2nd Division marched from Varna to some ground thirteen miles from here, between Aladyn and Devna.

Omer Pasha arrived last night in his carriage and four, and this morning has been attending a grand conference of the allied generals at Marshal St. Arnaud's house.

General Bosquet's division of the French army came in to-day, near 12,000 men: they have marched all the way from Gallipoli, a distance of 250 miles. Marshal St. Arnaud promised Lord Raglan two months ago that this division should arrive at Varna on the 15th or 16th of June last. So they are three weeks out of their reckoning, and you see the French sometimes make mistakes as well as ourselves.

Varna, July 9, 1854.

The only event of interest since my last letter has been Omer Pasha's visit. On the 5th instant there was a grand review of the French army on the heights to the north of Varna for Omer's inspection. Lord Raglan and his staff were present, as well as the Duke of Cambridge, Admirals Dundas and Lyons, and a large number of English officers, both military and naval. There were nearly 27,000 men on parade, all infantry, except two batteries of artillery, and one regiment of four squadrons of the Chasseurs d'Afrique. The whole had a fine effect as they marched past; on coming opposite the generals, the commanding officer of each battalion threw up his sword and called out "Vive l'Angleterre! Vive la Turquie! Vive l'Empereur!" which was responded to by the troops according to their humour; some made a great noise and others said nothing; poor Turkey came off second best, as you rarely heard any cheer from the soldiers for her. Lord Raglan rode a beautiful white Arab stallion that had been presented to him a short time ago by Omer

Pasha. After the review there was a grand luncheon at Prince Napoleon's encampment.

On the following day Omer Pasha inspected some of the English troops, but, as he had already seen the Light Division and some of the light cavalry on his way from Shumla to Varna, it was only thought necessary to show him the 1st Division at Aladyn, a regiment of heavy cavalry, and some of the artillery at Devna. Lord Raglan and his staff rode out to Aladyn, and arrived there at eight o'clock, and shortly after Marshal St. Arnaud and Omer Pasha came in their carriages. The Guards and Highlanders looked splendid, and marched past as only the Guards and Highlanders can. After some simple manœuvres, the troops, taking the time from the Duke of Cambridge, gave three cheers for the Marshal and three for Omer. They were both charmed with this, and Omer Pasha (who, it seems, knows how to pay compliments) said to Lord Raglan, "It is well known that the Emperor of Russia is mad, but he cannot be mad enough to fight against troops like those!" Marshal St. Arnaud and Omer Pasha afterwards went and had breakfast with the Duke of Cambridge.

Lord Raglan rode on to Devna to visit Sir G. Brown previous to the arrival of Omer Pasha. Marshal St. Arnaud returned to Varna from Aladyn, and did not go on to Devna. Omer Pasha did not come till past three o'clock in the afternoon. On the ground, in front of the village of Devna, were drawn up one field battery, two troops of horse artillery, and the 5th Dragoon Guards. The 5th looked very handsome, and I did not think their appearance spoilt by the white covers over their helmets, although I believe they were most anxious to be allowed to take them off for the review. They charged much to the admiration of Omer Pasha. The horse artillery went through a regular Woolwich field-day, and certainly moved admirably. Omer Pasha was enchanted, and said to Lord Raglan, "This is peace! when the Emperor of Russia sees this he will, he must make peace." After it was all over, Omer Pasha proceeded on his way back to Shumla, and Lord Raglan and his staff returned to Varna.

On our way to Devna this morning we met a Maltese, who informed us that he had just been robbed by two Turks of 1700 piastres, and he pointed out a

thicket where he said one of them was hid. So P—— and I rode to the spot and dragged out a scoundrel-looking fellow, and gave him over to some of Lord Raglan's escort, who conducted him to the nearest picket of the Guards, and the following day he was sent in to Varna, and, I believe, is to be comfortably hanged.

This morning (9th) we heard that Lord Cardigan had returned from his reconnaissance in the Dobrudscha without ever seeing the enemy this side the Danube; he has made a long march, and from all accounts has most unnecessarily harassed the men. They have been seventeen days away from Devna, and yet I understand over 90 horses out of some 280 have returned with sore backs! Very bad management somewhere. They marched from Devna by Basardschick, Musabeg, to Karasu and Rassova, and then patrolled about the Dobrudscha, returning along the banks of the Danube to Silistria, and from there by Shumla, Yenibazaar, and Pravadi to Devna.

You asked me in your last how the different Generals got on, and whether they were popular.

These are rather difficult questions to answer without "committing" oneself. However, here goes. To begin with the head. Lord Raglan, it is needless to say, is much liked by all, but, by those brought often into contact with him, perfectly beloved. I never met a man who had so completely the power of pleasing whomever he chose. It is wonderful how hard he works, and I believe his influence is great with Marshal St. Arnaud and Omer Pasha. The Duke of Cambridge is most deservedly popular for his great good nature, independently of his military qualities. Sir George Brown, although not so popular as some others, is, I believe, respected more perhaps than any, as being a thorough soldier; his fault may be that he carries discipline a little too far, but any one must admit that it is an error on the right side. Lord De Ros, the Quartermaster-General, works like a slave; he is certainly very eccentric, both in his habits and dress; very amusing, too. One of his fancies is to go out as much as possible in the sun! which he insists on doing, although warned by the medical men that there is great danger attending it. General Est-

court (the Adjutant-General) is very much liked by all who know him ; he is one of the most gentleman-like persons I ever met. I think him too lenient for an Adjutant-General, whose duties require a stern and, perhaps, rather a severe man, and this General Estcourt certainly is not. Don't misunderstand me. I throw no blame on him, only I think his nature too kind and too forgiving for one who is to carry out the discipline of the army. Of the two Generals of cavalry, I fear I cannot say they are popular, although both are said by some to be good soldiers. However, as I know so little in their favour, I had best leave them alone. Active service shall decide. Both have violent and imperious tempers, so if they don't clash "'tis passing strange."

I have only spoken of those Generals with whom I have been thrown on duty ; the others may have higher claims than some of those I have mentioned. Doubtless time will prove. Mr. Filder, the Commissary-General, has been much blamed in not performing what he has in several instances promised. He has, however, a very difficult duty to perform. The officers under him, although I be-

lieve they do their best, are, for the most part, young and inexperienced, and the consequence is, that he has, or ought, to look into everything: in fact, he is overworked. I fear the commissariat will be one great difficulty in the *event of a campaign*.

Varna, July 14th, 1854.

Everybody is very indignant at Lord Aberdeen's speech of the 19th of June, but none for a moment supposed the war to be at an end, and certainly some sort of reparation should be demanded from the Emperor of Russia for all the trouble and expense of the war up to this time. The Turks talk very big, and say that they won't let the Russians off without something being given them as an equivalent for the losses they have had to sustain. Some officers have been sent up to Kustendij on the Black Sea, about 100 miles north of Varna, to see if a good landing could be made there, and also to see if the Lake of Karasu, between the sea and the Danube, is navigable. I don't mean to say that it is in the least intended that the army sh

court (the ~~idea~~ of any large body of all who ~~could~~ move across the Danube like persons ~~is~~ the one way of keeping for an ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~, and advantageous, as stern and ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~carriage~~. There would General ~~be~~ ~~any~~ in marching any large derstand ~~the~~ ~~army~~ into any part of the think his ~~of~~ ~~the~~ of the want of water. The who is ~~the~~ ~~army~~ by Shumla and Rustchuk, and the two ~~armies~~ ~~however~~, all this is speculation, are ~~not~~ ~~yet~~ anything is settled by the allied good ~~will~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~. I suspect they are waiting favour ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~.

shall ~~be~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ Lord Raglan received de- pers. ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ Pasha, giving an account of an

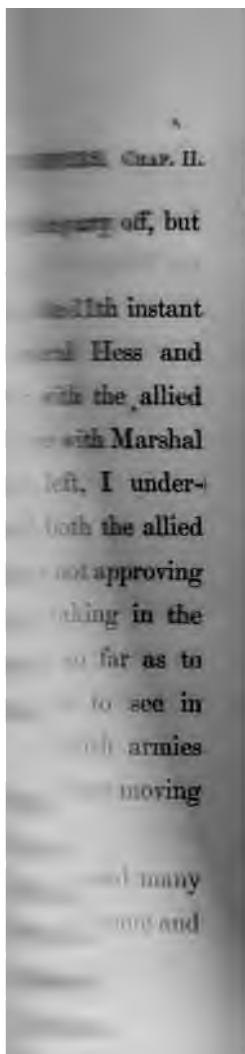
I ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ and the Russians. It appears who ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ a column of Behrim Pasha's have ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ of the Danube at Rustchuk, tion ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ Gurgevo, where they were met by the ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~. The main body of the Turks ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ Burke, R.E. (whom I had met ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ dead at the head of his men, ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ of the enemy with his own ~~the~~ ~~army~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ Lieutenant Meynell, of the

75th regiment, on leave ; he too led a portion of the Turkish troops, and was killed. Then a Captain Arnold, of the 3rd Madras Light Infantry, who had only arrived at Rustchuk the evening before, fell when leading on the Turks. All this is very unfortunate, but we have the satisfaction of knowing that, owing chiefly to the example of these gallant officers, our allies the Turks were victorious, and held their ground whilst the Russians had to retire. The Turks are said to have lost 500 killed and 800 wounded ; the Russians 1500 killed and wounded ; probably 500 more they carried off.

The old saying, that misfortunes never come singly, appears this day to have been verified, for in the evening intelligence was brought by a French ship of war of the death of Captain Hyde Parker of the Royal Navy, on the 8th instant. He commanded her Majesty's ship "Firebrand," a 6-gun steam frigate. He was killed at the Sulina mouth of the Danube : having landed with a party of seamen and marines to attack a small Russian military post, they got into an ambuscade ; Captain P shot dead, and five or six seamen wou er of our vessels of war, near the mc hole

there ; but only in the event our troops being ordered to move into Wallachia, it would be if they were supplied with stores, &c., that it would save so much land-carriage. It is always a great difficulty in moving a large force from here to Silistria in Dobrudscha on account of the weather. The better route would be by Shumla and so on to Bucharest. However, as I don't believe anything is to be done, I am, I suppose, as Commander-in-Chief. I suspect that the instructions from home.

On the 10th instant Lord Raglan received a despatch from Omer Pasha, giving an account of an affair between his troops and the Russians. He says that on the 7th instant a column of Russian troops and a division made the passage of the Danube at Giurgevo, where they met a large force of Russians. The main body of the Russian army was led by Lieutenant Burke, R.E. (who was killed at Silistria) ; he was shot dead at the head of his column after having killed five of the enemy. There was also a Lieutenant



the usual time necessary for the reduction of a fortified place. Two siege trains have arrived, consisting of 60 heavy pieces of ordnance, and 20 5½-inch mortars, and a third is expected shortly. The 44th regiment is employed making gabions and fascines, and I understand the whole of the brigade of Guards are to begin making them tomorrow. The health of the army is not so good as it was; there are many cases of cholera. The French have had it very badly. I was told yesterday by one of St. Arnaud's aides-de-camp (Duc de Grammont) that they had lost, in one of their battalions of the 5th Infantry of the Line, over 200 men. This was at Gallipoli. They have many men in hospital with it here.

On Thursday last I went to call on General Yusuf: we had a long talk of old times in Algeria. He left two days later with his 3000 Bashi-Bazouks for the Dobrudscha.* This is to be a sort of trial trip for them. I don't think General Yusuf was over sanguine as to the result: he said he did not think he would ever make them even as good as the Spahis; and *they* are useless except against Arabs.

The French have marched two of their divisions (General Canrobert's and General Forey's) towards the Dobrudscha ; and this morning two battalions of Zouaves embarked from Varna for Kustendij, on the Black Sea, and about sixty miles north of this. These are to disembark, and make a junction with the troops going by land, a few miles from the sea, at a small place, the name of which I forget. They are then to advance on Karasu, where it is reported there is a small Russian force. The ostensible reason for this movement of the French is to make a diversion and mislead the Russians, and try and make them believe that we are not going to the Crimea. However, it matters little, as of course the newspapers will do all in their power to inform the enemy of any movement likely to take place. Oh, the blessings of a free press ! Another reason given for Marshal St. Arnaud's sending these troops is, that he wants it to be said that the French army was the first to be in the field and the first to meet the enemy. I think this all humbug, especially as we could move the whole of our force now with greater ease than the French. However, I believe his real

CHAPTER III.

Naval reconnaissance — Health of army — Cholera — Expedition of the French to the Dobrudscha — Horace Vernet — Fatima Hanoum — “Fury” reconnoitring — Admiral Dundas — Theatricals — Preparations — Cholera — French losses — General Canrobert — Dreadful mortality — Illness of heads of departments, &c. — Cholera in allied fleets — Council of War — Fire at Varna — Austrian Commissioners — ‘Times’ — Continued cholera — Mr. Calvert, chief interpreter — Baldjick Bay — Accident to Zouaves — Distress of Canrobert — Sir George Cathcart — General Airey, &c. — Embarkation of horses, &c. — French hospitals — Left Varna — Plan of transports — Mail from England — Off Eupatoria — Conference of allied Generals — French Navy — Reconnaissance of coast — Katcha River — Allied fleet off Cape Tarkan, &c. — “Old Fort” — Summons of Eupatoria.

Varna, July 24th, 1854.

I HAD hoped by this time to have given you some certain information as to the future movements of the army, but at present nothing final has been decided upon, nor will be until the return of the naval reconnaissance. Sir G. Brown started on the 20th instant from here, accompanied by staff officers from the different departments of the army. The French sent General Canrobert, and also several

officers of their "Etat Major." I understand that there are several officers of high rank, French and English, and of both services, who strongly object to the proposed invasion of the Crimea, as being far too late in the year for so large an undertaking. I believe those most strongly against it are Marshal St. Arnaud, Admiral Dundas, and Lord De Rux. On the other hand, there are many strong advocates for its being done, on the score that it would be impossible for the army to remain where it is for the winter, on account of Bulgaria being so unhealthy, and it is said that the climate of the Crimea is particularly good. They say that at any rate a landing might be made, and Sevastopol itself not besieged till next spring. I don't think that would ever do, for the Russians would make it during the winter just as strong by land as it is at the present time by sea. It has lately been discovered that the soil in the neighbourhood of Sevastopol is of a very rocky nature, and mixed with sand, consequently it will only be with great labour that entrenchments of any strength can be opened, and therefore the siege would in all probability be much protracted beyond

at them. Afterwards, as they were coasting along, not half a mile from the shore, near the proposed landing-place, a carriage, drawn by four horses, came rapidly along the road by the sea-shore, with four ladies in it. The carriage pulled up at a little wooden house, and the ladies got out and went in, and re-appeared in a few minutes arrayed in white, and began to bathe, and remained some quarter of an hour in the water, and then returned to their cottage, and finally drove away in their carriage. Everybody on board the "Fury" was most curious, and of course all declared the ladies were lovely.

There will be considerable delay before the expedition can start, as an immense number of flat-bottomed boats have to be procured for the landing of the troops, and more especially for the landing of the artillery and horses of that service and the cavalry. It is said, and I believe with perfect truth, that a short time ago Admiral Dundas was offered a number of boats suitable for the purpose, for a certain sum of money; he thought it too high a price, and refused to buy them. The next day the French bought them, and now we are giving any

price for the same thing. Every one blames Admiral Dundas ; it is so absurd haggling about a few hundred pounds, when every day's delay costs the country thousands. Admiral Dundas is very unpopular in the fleet ; they all say he is so slow, and an old woman ! Sir Edmund Lyons, on the other hand, is liked by every one, besides which, he is a very sharp shrewd quick man, full of energy, and a first-rate sailor, which they say the other is not.

Lord De Ros, the Quartermaster-General, and General Cator, commanding the artillery, have both been very ill with fever, and it is doubtful whether they will be able to go on. Of course they are most anxious to remain here, but the medical men say they must both return to England.

Last Thursday we had a little amusement rather out of the common way, in the shape of some theatricals on board H. M. S. "Bellerophon," 78-gun ship, Lord G. Paulet. She is stationed, as I think I told you in a former letter, in Varna Bay, to assist in landing troops and stores, &c. First of all Lord George gave a grand dinner to the allied generals, and then after that came the theatricals. It was the

prettiest sight I ever saw. The poop formed the stage, and just below was the band. The audience were on the quarter-deck, abaft the mainmast. The whole of the stage and the afterpart of the quarter-deck were covered in with an awning lined with the flags of all nations; of course the ones most conspicuous were the English, French, and Turkish. It was all most tastefully lit up with Turkish lamps. Some of the scenes were capital. The acting of the sailors was generally very good, and all most amusing. Of course the female parts were also taken by sailors, and the appearance of some of these ladies convulsed us with laughter, and caused immense fun. However, the two best performers were a serjeant and corporal of marines, who would have done credit in many a London theatre. After the theatricals were over, there was an excellent supper served on the main-deck, where mids insisted on one's eating and drinking everything within reach, and telling one to "mind and come and look me up, old fellow, whenever you come on board; always have a glass of sherry for you;" and with such injunctions, and many other marks of good will and

kindness, we took our leave, lit up by blue lights until safely stowed away in a shore boat.

The French have lately received six old frigates from Toulon. They have only each a crew of some fifty sailors. They have been sent as transports for their infantry. Each will easily contain from 800 to 1000 troops, besides large quantities of stores.

Varna, August 9th, 1854.

The preparations for the grand expedition are going on rapidly, and it is said everything will be ready by the 15th instant. The Turkish fleet cast anchor yesterday in the bay. It consists of one immense three-decker, the "Mahmoudie," of 136 guns, and over 4000 tons; said to be the largest ship in the world; no doubt the clumsiest. Then there are six liners of from 70 to 100 guns each, two large steam-frigates, and five brigs of war. Admiral Slade is second in command, and carries his flag on one of the largest two-deckers. There is now a proposal that the Turkish fleet, with 10,000 of their troops on board, should make a demonstration at Kaffa (Theo-

their cholera hospital, and had the patients dispersed into the different hospital camps which have been formed in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. They have four large ones for cholera only. In one camp, about two miles from the town, there are 700 men laid up with cholera. But all this is nothing as compared with their losses in the Dobrudscha. It is said that General Canrobert's division has lost no less than 1700 men since the 24th of last month ! and that they have near 3000 sick. Six hundred arabas full of sick men were brought back on the return of their unfortunate expedition. General Forey's division has lost between 400 and 500 men dead, and has brought back 2500 sick ! I am told that, on the second evening after the expedition had got into the Dobrudscha, they arrived at the lake of Karam ; and here the men were encamped during the night, and died like rotten sheep, and literally fell upon one another ! The next morning, when General Canrobert saw what had happened, that is, that there were between 200 and 300 men dead and dying, he ordered the retreat back to Varna, first having the dead buried in the lake. It is currently

reported and very generally believed by the men, that many of their comrades were buried before they were actually dead! although doubtless they would have died in the course of a few hours. Still, what a horrible idea, that the sick and dying should be hurried into eternity in so awful a manner! The two battalions of Zouaves returned by sea, in the same manner as they went, embarking at Kustendij, but disembarking near Baldjick instead of Varna, on account of the dreadful way in which the cholera is raging among them. In their short voyage back, only fourteen hours, they threw overboard near 300 corpses. So great was their state of panic and confusion, that the bodies were neither shotted, nor sewn up in canvas or hammocks, as is usual. There is consequently a report afloat, that all along the coast, from 10 to 30 miles from here, the shore is strewed with the corpses of these unfortunate French soldiers. All these horrid details were given me by an officer of rank in the Etat Major, and, high as the numbers may seem, I fear there is no exaggeration in them. Altogether this expedition has cost the French, and put hors-de-combat, from 8000 to 10,000 men!

When Marshal St. Arnaud heard of the dreadful losses his army had sustained, it is said he went to Lord Raglan and tried to get him to put off, for this year, the expedition against the Crimea. But Lord Raglan answered, it was not a sufficient reason, much as he deplored the great loss the French had sustained.

The Bashis, I understand, are returning, having quite disgusted General Yusuf, who says he will have nothing more to do with them. It appears they fell in with some Cossacks, and, after great demonstrations of preparing to charge and attack, ran away, leaving one of their officers (a Frenchman) to be killed by the Cossacks. Yet General Beatson is going to "make them a most useful body of troops." I hope he may.

General Estcourt, the Adjutant-General, has been very unwell for the last few days ; so you may imagine the quantity of work Lord Raglan has to get through, with the heads of the three principal departments of the army ill, viz. the Quartermaster-General, the Adjutant-General, and the General commanding the artillery. Yet, for all that, he works away, and never

seems to tire, or at any rate never relaxes in the least. I can't think how he can do it, for the heat is at times dreadful—it is much hotter and far more oppressive in the town than outside Varna. In my bit of a room, which, from having a high wall at four inches distance in front of the only window, is supposed to be a very cool place, the thermometer generally stands at 81° . In any other climate but this it would feel like a cellar or vault, and it is so dark that it would in that respect answer admirably.

Varna, August 14th, 1854.

You will be sorry to hear that the cholera has broken out in the allied fleets. In the French it is especially bad, caused, as it is stated, by their crowding their men afloat, and by the great inferiority of their rations to ours. The number of deaths from cholera and other causes in the English army, since landing in Bulgaria, is 434 up to this date. This, however, does not include the deaths at Scutari and Gallipoli.

Lord Raglan went up to Baldjick Bay on Thursday

last, on a visit to Admiral Dundas, and stayed on board his flag-ship, the "Britannia," 120 guns, till the following day. On the evening of Thursday, Sir Edmund Lyons and Sir George Brown, in the "Agamemnon," joined the fleet, from Constantinople, and then there was a grand council of war on board the "Britannia" immediately after their arrival. It appears that the "powers that be" are divided in their opinions as regards the practicability of invading the Crimea, on account of the sickness in the French army and navy. However, these objections have been overruled, and it is now said that we shall embark on the 25th instant. The following are said to be the opinions of the "Chiefs :"—Lord Raglan, Sir George Brown, Sir Edmund Lyons, and Admiral Bruat *for* the expedition ; Marshal St. Arnaud, Admirals Dundas and Hamelin *against* it. About three weeks ago, when it was first decided that an expedition should sail for the Crimea, the French said that they would certainly be ready by the 8th of this month. Lord Raglan said he thought the 14th (to-day) the earliest period at which he could be prepared. A few days ago the Marshal sent to say that he must have ten

days longer, and said that their arrangements could not be completed till the 20th instant. Yesterday it was officially reported to Lord Raglan that everything was ready for the embarkation of the English troops.

On Thursday night a most destructive fire broke out in Varna, which destroyed in a few minutes a third of the town, extending over nearly half a square of ground. It began in a French spirit-shop, and in the whole of the lower part of the town a great wood, of course it was impossible to see it. Marshal St. Armand was present, and displayed great coolness and judgment in the manner in which he directed the troops employed. It was then that we thought that we must have all our powder, as the great powder magazine was surrounded by burning houses. The sailors sent on shore from the English men-of-war in Varna Bay worked in a manner that excited the admiration of every one. And in the following morning, when Lord Raglan returned with the fleet, Marshal St. Armand displayed to all the sense of the gallant manner in which they had operated with the troops. Although there was a time

absolute danger apprehended from the fire, it is thought advisable to pull down all the houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the powder magazines, much to the indignation of the Turks, who say that "we have done no fighting for them, but have burnt half their town, and now are going to pull down the other half." Our commissariat sustained a considerable loss in the fire; Mr. Filder, the Commissary-General, says to the amount of 20,000*l*. It chiefly consists in rations of biscuits, of which 450,000 have been destroyed; also a large quantity of regimental uniforms; altogether nothing of any great importance, and fortunately nothing to stop the expedition. The French loss is greater than ours, but, as it is principally provisions, it is not of any great consequence.

The two Austrian ~~commissioners~~ (Colonel Kalik and Lieut.-Colonel Lowenthal), aides-de-camp to General Hess, have been here again. They had a long conference with Marshal St. Arnaud and Lord Raglan, to try and induce them to move up the allied armies to the Danube. They answered, that the French and English had waited so long for the

Austrians' decision, that the Allies had now settled to attack the Russians on a totally different base of operations from that proposed by the commissioners. They, having got properly snubbed, returned from whence they came.

The newspapers, especially the 'Times,' continue to give us some wonderful information. A month ago, according to that publication, the English and French had a force of 25,000 men at Rustchuk, and by the last post I see we are all gone to Kustendij, and also that Prince Napoleon is staying with Omer Pasha, and other such little bits of news, which, although not *quite* correct, still are very amusing.

Varna, August 24th, 1854.

The number of deaths from cholera in the English army in Bulgaria, up to this date, amounts to 606, but I am glad to say that it is rapidly diminishing; there are, comparatively speaking, but few fresh cases of cholera, although the hospitals are still full of men who have been suffering from it, and many of whom it is to be feared will die of debility. If

you once get thoroughly weak, it seems impossible in this climate to regain strength. Since I last wrote, some of the cavalry regiments have been suffering very considerably, and in the 5th Dragoon Guards four officers have died of it. It is rather strange that, although camped with other regiments infected with the disease, the 8th Hussars has not as yet had a fatal case, although they have lost eight men from fever and other causes. We have also heard that it has broken out among our troops in the Bosphorus. The 1st battalion Rifle Brigade had 150 men taken ill out of four companies, and in twenty-four hours eight were dead. The French navy still suffer much; it is said that the flag-ship, the "Ville de Paris," has lost 160 men, and the "Monte Bello" 220 men! The health of their army is nevertheless improving. In our navy the cholera has almost disappeared. In the "Britannia," Admiral Dundas's flag-ship, they have lost over 100 men. There have been also some cases in the different transports lying in Varna, but fewer than one would suppose. You will think, from the details I give you of the cholera, that I am going to turn

“Medico:” the truth is that one can think of little else; you hear the word “cholera” five hundred times a day. The first thing you ask an officer of another regiment is, “How does your cholera get on?” *or*, “Well, I suppose we shall really be off next week?”—“Hope so, but it now depends on the cholera, the fleet have got it so deuced bad.”

On the 17th instant Lord Raglan received a despatch from Colonel Simmons, the English commissioner attached to the head-quarters of the Turkish army, informing him of the arrival of the Turkish troops under Omer Pasha at Bucharest, and of the rejoicings of the inhabitants thereon. He also said, that from deserters and prisoners it appears that the Russians are in full retreat for the Pruth, and that the prevailing impression was, that the allied armies had marched from Varna to the Danube.

Omer Pasha supposes that the Russians, during their retreat from Silistria, must have lost upwards of 16,000 men from sickness. This, however, is perhaps an exaggeration. Moreover, he has so bad an opinion of the Bashi-Bazouks, that he would not allow them to cross the Danube, as they would only

being disgrace on his army by the robberies and atrocities they were certain to commit.

Within the last few days a Mr. Calvert has joined the head-quarter staff; a great acquisition—he is a very agreeable shrewd, and intelligent man. He has been for some years a vice-consul at one of the ports in the Crimea, and, from his perfect knowledge of the Russian and Tartar languages, will, I have no doubt, be of the greatest possible use to the heads of the different departments of the army.

The embarkation of the troops will take place in a few days; in the mean time, the guns and stores for the army are being put on board ship. We have already embarked four batteries of artillery, also an immense quantity of gabions and fascines (we are to take 6000 of the former and 9000 of the latter I understand); then 90,000 sand-bags have been shipped, and almost all the engineer stores, tools, &c. All the transports are to take with them six weeks' provisions for the men and horses told off to them. In fact, the arrangements are on the most liberal scale, and ought to ensure success. Since the general order has come out, allowing officers and

men to wear moustache and beards, everybody has begun to grow them, and consequently the army looks very savage and dirty, with hair all over their faces of ten days' growth. It is said that we really leave here on the 30th instant; but I believe it depends entirely on the health of the French fleet.

Baldjick Bay, September 6th, 1854.

You will see from my date that at last we are really off; but I will go back a few days, and tell you our doings up to the present time from the 24th ult. On the evening of the 25th Sir J. Burgoyne arrived quite unexpectedly. He is to be attached to the army without any actual appointment, as, from being senior to Sir George Brown (who is second in command), he would be cutting him out. He has come chiefly to give his counsel on the best mode of attacking Sevastopol, and is not in any way to interfere with General Tylden, who commands the Royal Engineers, but merely to give his valuable advice and opinion on engineering matters. On the 29th the whole of the 1st Division and 2nd battalion Rifle

Brigade embarked on board seven steamers. There is no end to the work going on in the bay—embarking cavalry, infantry, artillery, stores, and indeed every sort of thing that forms in any way a part or necessary of an invading force.

A despatch came to head-quarters from Captain Drummond, H. M. S. “Retribution,” who had been for some days off Odessa, that he had received information that 40,000 men had left the neighbourhood of that place about a fortnight ago for the Crimea, and that it was stated that the Russian army in the Crimea had been augmented to the enormous number of 140,000 men! All the “chiefs” laugh at this; the number is too great to be true; and, therefore, probably the whole is false.

On the 1st of this month a sad accident happened, the only one, I believe, during the embarkation of both armies. A large flat-bottomed boat, with thirty-eight soldiers of the Zouaves on it, was run into by a Turkish steam-tug in the French service, commanded by a midshipman. The flat was completely cut in two, and twenty-seven poor fellows were drowned. All the Zouaves had their knap-

sacks on, and consequently sank like stones. In our army the infantry always embark and disembark (except when the vessel is alongside a quay) carrying their knapsacks. I remember some months ago reading an account in one of the London journals of the disembarkation of the French and English troops at Gallipoli, and "Our Special Correspondent," as usual abusing the arrangements made by the English, spoke of the slovenly manner in which the English soldiers landed with their knapsacks in hand. I wonder if he saw the catastrophe of this day?

Commandant Vico introduced me to General Vaillant, who commands the reserve division of the French army that is to remain at Varna. He is a fine old man, with the most courtly manners. He told me that he had been a sergeant in the French army in 1873, when he had the honour to fight against the English in France: and he hoped before he died to fight by their side. It was said with such perfect good nature, and with a tone that would have done honour to the first courtier in Europe.

I saw General Canrobert in the evening in the most miserable state, wringing his hands, and saying, "Ma pauvre division, ma pauvre division !" alluding to the unfortunate fate of his Zouaves this morning. Certainly they have had most frightful losses in various ways, these poor Zouaves.

On the following day Sir George Cathcart, commanding the 4th Division, arrived, and his two brigadiers, Generals Torrens and Goldie. General Airey, from the command of a brigade of the Light Division, has been appointed Quartermaster-General, *vice* Lord De Ros, who is obliged to return home from ill health. This is doubtless a good appointment, as General Airey's noted energy, and, at the same time, thorough knowledge of official duty, peculiarly adapt him for the position of Quartermaster-General. General Codrington, late from the Guards, takes command of the vacant brigade of the Light Division. He is also, I understand, a man most highly thought of by Lord Raglan. Then General Cator has been replaced by Colonel Strangways in command of the Royal Artillery. The former is a great loss to the army; another victim to

this horrid climate ; he has completely got over his attack of fever, but cannot regain any strength. Colonel Strangways, a veteran who had served at the battles of Leipsic and Waterloo, is very popular in the Artillery, and one in whom they have every confidence.

Sunday last was employed in getting eighty horses embarked on board the "Ganges." The sea was very rough, and it took us some time getting alongside, and then no little difficulty in putting the slings on to already frightened horses. I never saw anything like the pluck of the blue-jackets : they hauled about the horses in a manner that no groom or bătman dare do. One horse would not allow the slings to be put under him, and kept on lashing out with one hind-leg in a most furious manner : it was too rough for him to kick with both, as he would have fallen. This beast was delaying the embarkation of the other horses, so one sailor called out to his messmate, "Jack, next time he kicks, lay hold of his leg," which Jack very coolly did, and, to our utter astonishment, the horse stood perfectly still, and only snorted : in another second

he was swinging in the air, half-way up the ship's side. The horse, I suppose, was so surprised at this uncommon freedom on the part of "Jack," that he fancied he had found his match, and surrendered accordingly. When these horses were all embarked, and the remainder of the stores for the "Ganges" stowed away, you may say that the expedition was ready, for we were the last to go on board. We take nearly 27,000 men of all arms, and the French, after all their talk, can only transport, in the first instance, something under 24,000 men. Then there is also to be a division of 6000 Turks attached to the French, but carried by the Turkish fleet.

The French (I was told by one of their officers high on the staff) have lost nearly 7000 men dead of cholera and fever, and have at this moment from 12,000 to 15,000 men in their various hospitals. This number of sick men require upwards of 4000 effective men as extra hospital orderlies and camp guards and cooks, &c. &c., so that their army is probably 25,000 men less than on its leaving France. The English have lost under

700 men altogether, and we have at the present time in our various hospitals 1900 men under medical treatment; but I am glad to say many of these are but slight cases. For instance, a week ago, we had 2400 men in hospital, and since that period 500 have returned to their duty.

On the evening of the 4th instant we went on board ship, and early the following morning left Varna Bay and steamed up to Baldjick. Lord Raglan and his personal staff, on board the "Cadoc," lay close to the flag-ship "Britannia."

Marshal St. Arnaud and the greater part of the French fleet went to sea at daylight on the 5th instant, and also the Turkish, much against the French Admiral's wish, but the Marshal, who is a wretched sailor, was most anxious for a move. It is rather absurd, as the wind is dead against them. We are to wait in Baldjick until the wind is fair, or, at any rate, not right in our teeth. It was a fine sight watching the different great steamers and transports getting into their places. This occupied our attention the whole day, which was magnificent fortunately. The old Admiral appears to amuse

himself by signalling every ship in his fleet, giving them orders, &c., and then a minute after cancelling them. Just before dusk last evening (5th), about 8.30, the signal was run up, "Steam up at 4 to-morrow morning." Ah! that looks like a start. Next morning, however (6th, this day), the wind being dead against us, the signal was hoisted, "Bank up fires;" so our hopes are all up for to-day probably, and consequently I have been occupied some part of it in writing you this epistle. It will take several days before we reach the Crimea, even when we really do start, as it will be necessary to keep the fleet as much as possible together, and, with the immense number of ships that compose it, that will be a very difficult task.

The English transports have been told off into six lines, viz. :—

1st line, to carry the Light Division.			
2nd „	„	First „	„
3rd „	„	Second „	„
4th „	„	Third „	„
5th „	„	Fourth „	„
6th „	„	Cavalry, &c.	

With each division are two batteries of artillery ;

besides these, there is no end of vessels with commissariat and medical stores, &c. &c. The course proposed to be taken by the allied fleets is, that we should hug the land until off the Sulina mouth of the Danube, and then stand across to Cape Karaman or Cape Tarkan, and coast along the shores of the Crimea to the appointed place of landing the expedition. The object in going so much out of the direct course is that the whole way we are in good anchorage ground, whereas, if we went in a direct line, we should be in too deep water to anchor with any safety.

I had a most capital luncheon this day on board the "Retribution," Captain Drummond having with his usual hospitality fetched two or three of us off in his gig. Whilst we were on board of her, the "Orinoco" steam transport came panting up and anchored close to us. She had the 1st battalion of the Rifle Brigade on board, and soon we were greeting numbers of old friends, whom we had not yet seen, as they came straight up from the Bosphorus here. The "Banshee" has just arrived with the mail from England, by which I have

received several charming letters from home, and among others one from you, for which a thousand thanks. I cannot answer any of your queries now, as the bag closes immediately ; you will hear again from me before we land.

At Sea, five miles off Eupatoria,
September 13th, 1854.

Thus far on our way everything has gone on prosperously. But I think I had better give you some extracts from my journal, as that will best inform you of our doings since the 6th instant. On the morning of the 7th, at 5 o'clock, the steamers began to tow the different transports told off to them, and then to get into their places. It was a most delightful day ; a nice cool breeze from the south-east (exactly what was most favourable), and a fine bright sun. The sea calm and so very blue. Soon after 9 A.M. the admiral signalled for the ships of war to get under way ; such a magnificent sight ! the "Queen" was first, then the "Rodney," in making sail ; none, however, were

more than a few minutes behind the two first. At 10 o'clock the whole armada was in motion, such a sight as the world never before beheld! We were off Cape Kalagria, the last point of Turkish coast we shall see, at 1 P.M., going $4\frac{1}{2}$ knots per hour. Our speed was then increased, as the wind got up, and we went upwards of $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 knots the hour.

September 8th.—This morning, about 6 o'clock, we came in sight of the French and Turkish fleets. The wind had changed during the night, and was now right in our teeth; the sea also was rather rough. By midday we were 140 miles from Baldjick Bay. During the morning there was a grand conference on board the "Ville de Paris" (French flag-ship) between the allied commanders. It now appears that the French generals say they think the expedition hazardous, and that, the wind being contrary, their fleet, which has the greater part of their infantry on board, will never be able to reach the place of rendezvous—at any rate for several days—unless the wind changes, which they think unlikely. They therefore propose to sail

for Theodosia, for which place the wind is fair, and make a landing there; and if they find it impracticable to march on Sevastopol, then to take possession of the peninsula formed by Kertch, Arabat, and Theodosia, and establish their winter quarters there. A charming proposal for them, certainly. This, of course, Lord Raglan would not hear of; and said, Why did they not think of it before, if it was so good a plan? It ended in the French agreeing in a persistence in the old plan, though Marshal St. Arnaud was so dissatisfied with the reconnaissance lately made, and wished for another, that they might fix on the best place for disembarking the armies. Accordingly it was arranged that the following day the "Caradoc," with some of the principal English and French naval and military officers, should start off, accompanied by the "Agamemnon," 90 guns, Sir E. Lyons's flag-ship, and the "Sampson," one of our largest paddle-wheel steam frigates; and lastly, the "Prémoget" French steam sloop. After this long conference on board the "Ville de Paris" there was one equally long on board the "Caradoc:" however, all things must

have an ending, which this had. Marshal St. Arnaud is very unwell, independent of sea-sickness, and this is given by his staff as one reason for his want of decision. The French and Turkish fleets looked very handsome sailing in two parallel lines; the former consists of fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and three steam frigates; the latter, of six sail of the line, two frigates, and two steam frigates. The expedition sailed much slower to-day in consequence of the wind being against us, and also as the sea is rather rough for towing at any pace without risk of snapping the painters or tow-lines.

September 9th.—Soon after daybreak the “Agamemnon,” “Sampson,” and “Prémoget,” joined the “Caradoc.” These vessels started away from the fleets and steered straight for Cape Chersonese, just south of Sevastopol. The expedition still kept on its course for the rendezvous off Cape Tarkan. The French and Turkish fleets are to beat up there as soon and as best they can. During the day there was another long discussion on board the “Caradoc,” without anything being settled. The truth is, that the French army and navy don’t hit it off; the

former are "Imperialists," and the latter "Legitimists," consequently there is a constant jealousy going on between the two. The army says that the navy throws impediments in their way; and the navy says the army asks impossibilities. The upshot of all this is, that it is very difficult for our commander to get anything definitively arranged: but, fortunately, Lord Raglan and Sir Edmund Lyons both being good diplomatists, they manage somehow to smoothe matters down, and keep things in their right places. It was a fine day, and all four ships powerful steamers: we went along at a spanking pace, soon ran out of the rough water, and shortly before midnight came in sight of the Lighthouse on Cape Chersonese. We then lay-to in almost still water till the following morning.

September 10th.—Soon after four A.M. steam was up, and we started for Sevastopol, going thirteen knots. At a quarter to five A.M. we first caught sight of the town, or rather the fortifications, which looked like a small white spot on the horizon: it was not yet day and we were five miles off; twenty minutes later we were within two miles and a half;

and, as day broke, the town with its beautiful harbour appeared before us, each moment getting more distinct, and every house and window lighting up with the morning sun. It reminded one of a scene at a diorama, as it got clearer and clearer. Sir Edmund did not think it prudent to go any nearer, as, if they fired and hit the "Caradoc," as they did the "Fury," we might possibly go down ; for the "Caradoc" is built of iron, and therefore, if struck by a heavy shot, a whole plate might probably be knocked out, which would have been very awkward. We remained for upwards of half an hour gazing at the scene before us, with an interest deeply excited by the thought that there lay the prize for which we were to fight, the great object of the ensuing campaign. The fortifications looked of immense strength, and appeared to bristle with guns. Our being there did not apparently cause any commotion, although probably the early hour prevented people from being about in any numbers. We counted twelve large ships of war in the great harbour, but we could distinctly see the masts of many more in the inner harbour and

Dockyard Creek. All this time the "Sampson" and "Prémoget" were within half a mile of us, and the great "Agamemnon" three miles off, so as not to frighten the Rooshens, I suppose. About 6 o'clock we turned round, and steamed S.E. to the Cape Chersonese, on the extremity of which is the lighthouse before alluded to.

The coast from Sevastopol to the cape is generally a low cliff, with a beach; the cliff varies in height from three to fifteen feet; the ground rises gradually, but to no height; it appeared undulating ground, like low downs. It was proposed by some one that a landing should be effected here, as the natural harbours north of the cape appeared admirably adapted for the purpose, as doubtless they were. But this was at once put aside, as being far too near Sevastopol, and might have risked an action before the troops could be all landed. This, of course, is to be avoided if possible.

There were two or three camps nearer the town, but apparently for few men; I should say 5000 quite the outside. On our turning northwards, as we passed again near the town, we ob-

be chiefly artillery ; the other, on the northern side, infantry,—perhaps 6000 men, but two and three miles inland we could see several other camps, quite as large as these nearer ones. There are high cliffs all the way from Sevastopol to the Alma river, say of 80 to 100 feet, except at the mouths of the Belbec and Katcha rivers, when on either side of both rivers the ground gradually slopes down to the sea-shore. At the Alma river we stood in quite close to the shore, within half a mile, and two small boats were sent in, to take soundings, from the “Caradoc.” They went within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and found five fathom water,—deep enough for anything. Seeing some sort of commotion going on in the Russian artillery camp, it was thought better to sheer off, especially as we were within easy range, and had nothing wherewith to return the compliment, should they fire at us.

From the river Alma, all the way to Eupatoria, about 25 to 30 miles, the coast is quite low, and anywhere practicable for landing. The only doubt is about water. From all accounts there appears

to be a great want of it all along this part of the coast. It was finally decided that the landing should be made about seven miles north of the little stream dignified by the name of the river Bulgânak : the English to land on the strip of land between the sea and Kalamita salt lake ; the French just south of them, at a place I can't spell or write, but which signifies in English "Old Fort," from an old ruined tower, which the Tartars are pleased to call a fort. The allied commanders were very anxious to go in close and have a good view of Eupatoria, but a Tartar spy on board informed us that there was a battery of guns to the north of the tower. However, as it was thought necessary to go near and view the place, Russian colours were hoisted on the "Caradoc," and we stood in as if we were friends. The good people of the town did not seem to know what to make of us, and collected in considerable numbers on the esplanade to look at their visitor. There appeared to be a battery, but no guns in it. The town itself looked clean, though dull ; a good many ladies were walking about, and some few soldiers ; these were said to be

only invalids. It was decided that the town should be taken, if only as a base to fall back upon in case of emergency. Soon after 4 P.M. we steamed away for the rendezvous off Cape Tarkan. We had a lovely day, and it was one of the most interesting and exciting I ever passed in my life.

September 11th.—We arrived this morning about 7 o'clock at the place of rendezvous, 50 miles due west of Cape Tarkan. The whole of the immense flotilla was at anchor in 22 fathoms water, and wonderful it was ; such a forest of masts, yet quite out of sight of land : it was very calm, hundreds of boats were going about ; you fancied that you were inside some great port, and wondered where the land could be. At midday the Admiral made signal to "weigh anchor," and by 2 o'clock the whole fleet was in motion, with the exception of the "Caradoc," which remained to be coaled from a vessel that had arrived for that purpose. The "Caradoc" caught up the fleet by 8 P.M. There was every appearance of thunder this evening, and the naval men were somewhat anxious as to this fine weather lasting.

September 12th.—Early this morning we made the land (Cape Tarkan), and continued in sight of it the rest of the day. The French and Turkish fleets were observed 15 miles west of us; so the Admiral sent two of our largest steam frigates to render them assistance. At 9 A.M. we “lay to,” to give time to our allies to come up. Later in the day we steamed slowly on, but cast anchor at 7 P.M., in order that the French and Turkish fleets might join us during the night. It rained in torrents for some hours the earlier part of the night, but afterwards cleared up fine and bright.

September 13th.—We weighed anchor at 2 this morning, and did not arrive at our destination in Eupatoria Bay till 1 P.M.—the distance only 18 miles. All this delay was caused by the confusion into which the flotilla had fallen, so constantly anchoring, &c. However, it was at last arranged. At 2 P.M. there was a council of war as to how Eupatoria was to be summoned. After considerable delay it was decided that the “Caradoc” should go close in with a flag of truce. Accordingly the “Caradoc,” attended by the “Sampson” and

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"Firebrand," steamed to within a quarter of a mile of the town, having a white flag at the fore. The "Tribune" screw steam frigate was anchored "broadside on" to the town, cleared for action; captain and crew longing for the town to make resistance, that they might have the honour of opening the expedition. When the "Caradoc" got within a quarter of a mile a boat put off from her, containing Colonel Steele, the military secretary, and Colonel Trochu, chief of Marshal St. Arnaud's personal staff, Mr. Calvert to interpret, and Captain Derri-man to steer the boat. In the bows of the boat was a white (?) pillow-case by way of a flag of truce. An immense crowd came down to the jetty stairs, and begged them not to land, as they would be put in quarantine. The talking and confusion were such that it was impossible to hear a word said by the officer who had come down to meet them; it was therefore decided that they should go to the quarantine, where they were joined by the governor, an old major of the Russian army, who informed them that he had only 200 invalid soldiers quartered in the town, and that all the principal in-

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habitants had left a month ago ; also that all the stores had been moved into the interior some time back. He said, of course he could make no resistance, and consequently it was quite at our disposal. He also said the inhabitants were very badly off for food, and the Tartar population almost starving. Shortly after the boat returned to the " Caradoc," and after some consultation it was decided that the town should not be occupied till after the landing of the army, when it is to have a battalion of French, some Turks, and some marines from our men-of-war. We are to land at daybreak to-morrow morning ; and I trust by this time to-morrow (8 P.M.) that the allied armies may have obtained a firm footing on the soil of the Crimea. You will not probably hear from me for some days, as I doubt there being any opportunity of sending letters ; and, moreover, I shall probably have too much to do to have time to write. Adieu !

CHAPTER IV.

Eupatoria — Landing on shores of Crimea — Rain — Cholera — Lord Raglan's camp — Contrast with Marshal St. Arnaud's — French pillage — Sak — March — Order of divisions — Bulganak — Cavalry encounter — Col. Legondie — Bivouac — Mr. Kinglake — Alma — Disposition of divisions — French army pass the mouth of river under cover of fleet — Malamak — Sharpshooters — Bourlick — Marshal St. Arnaud's orders — Advance of Sir George Brown's division — Lord Raglan crosses the Alma — Turner's battery — Attack of Light and 2nd Divisions — 23rd regiment — Brigade of Guards and Highlanders — Delay in arrival of artillery — Rout of Russians — Capture of guns — Enthusiasm for Lord Raglan — Excitement — Sir Colin Campbell — Flight of enemy — General Shokanoff wounded — Horrors of battle-field — General Torrens — Sir G. Brown — General Pennefather — General Codrington — Kindness to wounded — Russian prisoners — Sailors — Dr. Thompson — Katcha — Casualties.

Head-quarter Camp, 18 miles S. of Eupatoria,
September 18th, 1854.

I HAVE not much time, and therefore can only give you a short account of the landing of the troops. On the morning of the 14th, at 3 o'clock, we weighed anchor, and from then till 8 A.M. the transports, &c., were getting into their proper places. There was ~~some confusion~~ in consequence of the French taking up

our centre buoy as their left, so in that manner threw us out by half a mile, which caused much crowding. The French were the first to land. Soon after 7 A.M. they sent a boat on shore with half a dozen men, who erected a flag-staff and hoisted the French colours. Their first flat of troops landed at a quarter to 9 A.M. about two miles south of us. Sir G. Brown and General Airey and their staffs were the first English on shore; half a minute afterwards a boatload of the 7th Fusileers landed. It was then 20 minutes to 10 A.M. By 10 o'clock the French had upwards of 6000 men landed and we about 70! Our being so slow in landing was entirely the fault of Admiral Dundas. He has been from the first against the expedition, and has predicted all sorts of disasters, and, now that he sees everything is likely to go well, he does all in his power to thwart and annoy Sir Edmund Lyons and Lord Raglan. In the first place, he stood four miles out to sea instead of remaining in the centre of our fleet, the place where he had agreed to be, and then shortly before the landing he signalled for four of our ships of the line to come outside and look at nothing. The con-

sequence was, that all their boats were absent from that time till two in the afternoon. Nevertheless, the landing went on very rapidly; all worked with a will, and the manner in which the sailors assisted was beyond all praise. The enemy never made the least resistance to the landing; indeed we never saw any troops, except some half-dozen Cossacks, who galloped up to the cliffs and then off again as fast as they came. Strange that they should have attempted nothing, for, although they could not have prevented it, as we were covered by the heavy guns from the fleets, still they might have annoyed us very much and caused great confusion. By 3 P.M. the Light, 1st, and 2nd Divisions were almost all landed—about 14,000 men and 12 guns. Soon after this, Lord Raglan and his staff came on shore and rode up to the advanced posts of the army. The 2nd battalion of the Rifles had been pushed on to a village five miles inland, called Tagailii: here they had established themselves in capital quarters, and, as it was situated on rather higher ground than any in the neighbourhood, it was well adapted as an advanced post. From it you overlooked the country in front

for some miles : every here and there could be distinguished Cossack videttes ; but they took good care not to come within range of our rifles. Another advantage this village had, viz. plenty of good water, and it has not yet been found elsewhere.

Lord Ragland rode round the whole of the outposts, and did not return until quite dark, past eight o'clock. Wherever he went to-day the troops cheered him, and indeed all seemed animated with the most enthusiastic spirits. Up to two o'clock this day the weather was fine ; but afterwards there was a good deal of rain at intervals, and soon after 8 P.M. it began to pour down in torrents, and continued doing so till early the following morning. I was one of the fortunate ones who had not to sleep out, as I got a berth on board ship. By night we had landed 23,700 men and 19 guns, with their horses, &c., complete. The French by the same time *said* they had landed 22,000 infantry and 53 guns (but without horses).

I am sorry to say the cholera is still with the armies. We lost on the voyage about 70 men in the infantry dead, and 200 bad cases left on board. In the cavalry the proportion is greater—22 deaths

Our men of the Rifles, who were quartered there, interfered as much as possible, but without coming to actual blows it was impossible to stop them. The commanding officer of the Rifles—I think Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence—turned out his men, and placed sentries all round the village, and made every Zouave put down whatever he had taken; when they had all gone, some of our sentries were surrounded by walls of fowls, and geese, and turkeys, &c. I understand that twelve men of the Zouaves have already been taken prisoners by the Cossacks in one of their marauding expeditions.

On the 17th the Commissary-General ascertained that there was a large store of Government corn at a village called Sak, about seven miles off; he obtained leave from Lord Raglan to send all the carts that could be collected, under an escort of twenty infantry and half a troop of cavalry, and seize upon this store. Hearing of this, B— and I volunteered and obtained leave to go. We started with about forty arabas and the above-named escort from headquarters at nine o'clock A.M., and proceeded to the town of Sak. It appears that it is famous for its

mud-baths, and that in the summer large numbers of invalids come here for the benefit of the said baths. We arrived there, passing through the village of Tuzla, at midday. The principal building in the village is the Government bath. This was broken into, all the doors being locked, and the place deserted, and two large stores of barley were found. The arabas were filled as quickly as possible, and we did our best to procure others from the Tartar peasants in the village ; but the French had been before us, and very few could be obtained. The baths were very nicely fitted up, and the different rooms well furnished—quantities of large, though not good, looking-glasses, two or three pianofortes, some comfortable arm-chairs and sofas, &c. In returning we got some of the Tartars from the village of Tuzla to come back with us to camp with their arabas and cattle, of course always on the understanding that they were to be paid for everything.*

* It may be worthy of remark, that, had our allies done the same, and paid for everything they took, my own belief is that plenty of transport would have been found for the army generally.

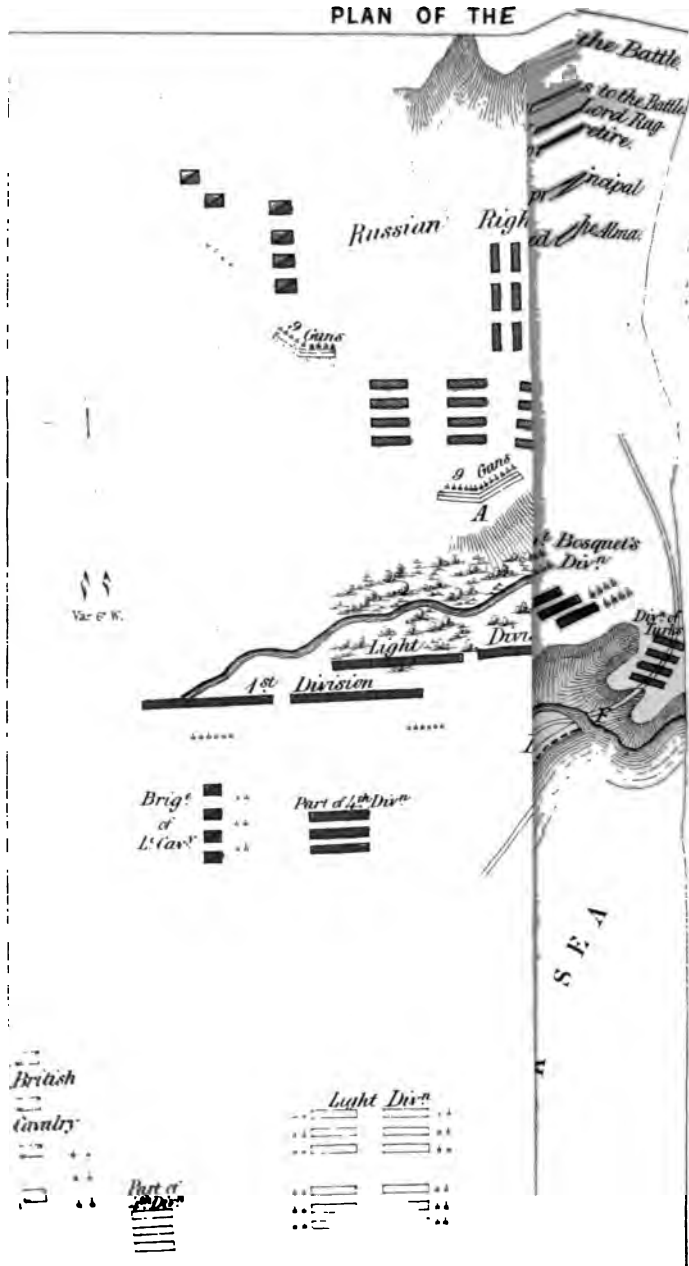
and 104 bad cases left. The French have suffered much more severely ; but that is not to be wondered at, as their men are so dreadfully crowded on board their line-of-battle ships. The "Montebello" and "Ville de Paris" each brought 1500 soldiers ; the "Valmy," I hear (it sounds almost impossible), 2400 soldiers ! the "Henri Quatre" the same ! their other liners in like proportion. I understand they will disembark 1100 men fewer than they embarked at Varna. During the night a good deal of wind got up right on shore, and consequently the surf was so great as to make the landing of cavalry or artillery dangerous on the following morning, the 15th instant. However, about midday it went down somewhat, and immediate advantage was taken of it to land the remainder of the artillery and the brigade of cavalry ; this was successfully performed, although some few horses were drowned, I think chiefly, however, belonging to staff officers.

By night nearly the whole of the cavalry (1100 horses) were disembarked. Lord Raglan took up his quarters during the day on some rising ground near the landing-place. His camp is a very modest

affair, consisting of one small marquee for himself, a bell-tent for stores, &c., a bell-tent which acts as a sort of military office. His personal staff have each got what are called dog-kennel tents, being about the size of those canine residences. *Voilà tout.* Marshal St. Arnaud, on the contrary, has everything on a grand scale. He has a large marquee as his sleeping-room, another as his sitting-room, an immense Algerine tent as a dining-room, and all his staff and attendance are equally well off in proportion to their respective ranks. An order was issued to-day for all the tents for the army to be landed; the Commissary-General, from information he has received from the Tartars, is in hopes of getting a sufficient number of arabas for the transport of these tents; but if not, it is worth landing them even if we are here only two days, so that the men may be under shelter for that time at any rate.

Lord Raglan rode all round the outposts again, and was very much annoyed to find that during last night the Zouaves had been into the village of Tagailii and robbed the inhabitants of everything

PLAN OF THE



1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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past one, and was over (that is, the last shot fired by us) at twenty-two minutes to four P.M., only two hours and eight minutes, and during that time 2160 English, 1400 French (so they state their loss), and at least 3500 Russians were struck down (being over 7000 men), this will perhaps best speak to the fury of the battle. The field of battle is a dreadful sight, but the hospitals far more horrible—so many brave fellows mangled and wounded, it's quite shocking. I can well understand the saying of the great Duke, "that, next to a battle lost, there was nothing so dreadful as a battle won." And with all this death and horror about me, I cannot be thankful enough that I should have been spared; and you, I am sure, will feel this with gratitude to Him who directs all things. We shall not march from here till the day after to-morrow, as the wounded are in such numbers that it is impossible to get them removed on board ship before that time. Many think that we shall have no more opposition shown us, and that we shall march into Sevastopol without difficulty. I am not so sanguine.

Head-quarters, village of Easel, valley of the
Katcha River, Sept. 23, 1854

Without further preface I will go back at once to the 19th instant, on the morning of which we marched from Kalamita Bay, or Old Fort, whichever you please to call it, in fact from the scene of the disembarkation of the allied armies. Well, at 6 A.M. (19th) we were by way of starting, but such was the confusion in consequence of the want of transport that great delay was occasioned, and it was three hours before the army was in motion. The Commissary-General had been misled by the Tartars as to the number of arabas that could be procured. I should say that at least 700 carts would have been required to have carried the proper baggage for the army, whereas not one-third of that number were forthcoming. Then, in consequence of this want of transport, all the tents of the army, with the exception of some hospital tents, had to be returned on board ship, or rather down to the beach. This took a long time and occasioned the troops employed much labour and fatigue. Part of

the 4th Division, under General Torrens, and the 4th Light Dragoons being left to see the beach cleared of all the stores, &c., and also the sick embarked, of which I am sorry to say there were no inconsiderable number. All this delayed the movement of the troops, and they actually did not march till near 9 o'clock. The order of march was much as I told you it would be in my letter of the 18th instant. The Turks, in column (about 6000 men), under Suleiman Pasha, were on the extreme right next the sea; then the four divisions of the French army, General Bosquet on the right next the Turks, then General Canrobert's division in the centre, and Prince Napoleon's division on the left of their army, with General Forey's division covering their rear. Sir De Lacy Evans's (2nd) division had its right resting on the French left, and Sir Richard England's (3rd) division in his rear in support. Sir George Brown's (light) division formed the left of the English front, and the Duke of Cambridge's (1st) division in his rear in support. Covering the front of our infantry was a regiment of cavalry (13th Light Dragoons) in skirmishing order, and

another regiment of cavalry (11th Hussars) in support, with a troop of horse artillery. Some way to our left were the other two regiments of the brigade of light cavalry (the 8th Hussars and 17th Lancers), four squadrons in all : these protected our flank, whilst a mile in rear came Sir George Cathcart with two-thirds of the 4th Division (the remainder being, as I before stated, left to clear the beach). The baggage and commissariat of the two armies were drawn more to the rear of the centre of the ground taken up by the troops. You will see by this that the French presented a front nearly double the breadth of ours, as three divisions were to the front, whereas ours were two deep.

The day was excessively hot, and many men fell out from exhaustion. There were frequent halts during the march to allow the stragglers to join their regiments again. No ground could be found better adapted for the movement of troops than that we marched over ; the only want was water, and this was what made the troops suffer so much. The army arrived at the Bulganak river by 2 P.M., when every one rushed forward to drink. The distance

marched by the majority of our troops was ten miles, though some had to come much farther. The river, as it is called, however, proved only to be a small stream, but still the water was good, and consequently most acceptable to our thirsty men and horses. On arriving here a good number of Cossacks were observed on the brow of the hill beyond, at a distance of half a mile. Lord Raglan, being desirous of ascertaining if the enemy were in force beyond, ordered Lord Cardigan forward with the two regiments of light cavalry in advance, to drive the Cossacks off and endeavour to ascertain if any number were in support. Accordingly the cavalry moved on at a trot, and some came up to where the Cossacks had been, and from there they discovered a large body of cavalry on some rising ground a mile off, there being a sort of valley between them. On this being communicated to Lord Raglan he ordered up the Light and 2nd Divisions, and sent for the other two regiments of light cavalry, which were on the flank of the army. In the mean time Lord Cardigan had advanced down into the hollow, and thrown out a troop in

skirmishing order. The Russians did the same, and the skirmishers on both sides commenced firing at one another. This went on I should say for twenty minutes, and during the whole of that time I don't believe a man or horse on either side was touched. So much for firing on horseback! An officer of the 11th told me afterwards that he had seen a Cossack get off his horse and lead him to the rear; but that was not much to boast of. During this time the 8th Hussars and 17th Lancers came up and remained at a short distance to the left rear of the other two regiments of cavalry. Also the Light and 2nd Divisions had got up just to the brow of the hill, but hardly forward enough for the enemy to see their strength.

Lord Raglan was particularly anxious *not* to bring on a general action, and therefore would not allow the cavalry to attack; indeed, it would have been madness to have done so, as the enemy had five times our strength. The cavalry were therefore ordered to retire by alternate squadrons, which they did as quietly and as orderly as if at a field-day on Hounslow Heath. The enemy advanced also slowly,

still with his skirmishers in advance and firing. These movements on both sides went on for some ten minutes, when what appeared to be a squadron of cavalry came down from the left of the Russians towards our cavalry. When half-way down the hill they halted, and the squadron opened in the centre, and wheeled back right and left, and discovered a battery of guns. One of these was instantly fired—the first gun of the campaign. It was beautifully done, and did great credit to Russian drill. Of course Lord Raglan ordered our artillery to reply, but, finding that the troop of horse artillery attached to the cavalry (6-pounders) did not reach with good effect, he ordered up the troop of horse artillery and battery attached to the Light Division, both of which had 9-pounders. These opened with considerable effect, and the Russians “limbered up” and retired in a hurry. The whole affair was the prettiest thing I ever saw, so exactly as one had done dozens of times at Chobham and elsewhere. If one had not seen the cannon-balls coming along at the rate of a thousand miles an hour, and bounding like cricket-balls, one would

really have thought it only a little cavalry review. The Russians fired fifteen or sixteen shot; we fired altogether forty-four shot and shell. Our casualties were four men wounded (two amputations) and five horses killed, all of the cavalry. We had no means of ascertaining at the time the loss of the enemy, except by seeing the bodies of several horses lying about; but we have since heard that they lost twenty-five men killed and wounded. The enemy's cavalry consisted of the 12th (Saxe Weimar) Hussars, and two regiments of Don Cossacks, regulars; the artillery was Cossack artillery, and, as far as their practice was concerned, was certainly good. Their guns were only 6-pounders. The French army was rather more than a mile to our right, and consequently had nothing to do with the affair, and could only look on. Lord Raglan sent Colonel Lagondie (a French officer attached to his personal staff, and of whom I told you in a former letter) to Prince Napoleon to request him to take ground to his left, so as to decrease the interval between the two armies. Colonel Lagondie took and delivered the message to the Prince, but never

returned. It appeared afterwards that on his way back he saw what he thought was Lord Raglan and his staff on an eminence, and rode up to them; being very short-sighted, he never discovered, until quite close, that the horsemen were Russian cavalry on picket. It is needless to say that he was made prisoner. What a prize for the Russians! The first officer taken in the war, and he a colonel on the staff! I have been thus minute in giving you the details of this trifling affair, because it was the opening of the campaign, and for that reason alone worthy of especial remark.

That night the army bivouacked on the low hills south of the Bulganak river. Lord Raglan occupied a ruined post-house, which had been burnt that morning by the Cossacks. His staff passed the night outside the house. It was a strange sight seeing the hundreds of watch and bivouac fires; and from the immense extent of ground they appeared to cover, would mislead any one as to the number of men on the ground. The morning of the 20th broke bright and clear; and soon after 6 A.M. the army was under arms and on the move,

author of Eöthen. "Oh!" said my Lord, "a most charming man!" and was going to speak to him; when Marshal St. Arnaud came up; so for the time he could not do so. About 11 o'clock, as we were nearing the Russian position, indeed when within sight of them, Lord Raglan and his staff were riding in advance; presently a pony dashed past us at a furious pace, and who should it be but Mr. Kinglake! On he went right through our skirmishers, with his horse's head between his legs; but, fortunately for his rider, the saddle got forward, and after a time went over the horse's ears: of course the author of Eöthen went with the saddle. It was rather an absurd thing just before a battle: we all laughed except Lord Raglan, who rode up to him and inquired most kindly after him; offered him (I think) one of his own ponies to ride, and told his orderly to put the saddle to rights. Mr. Kinglake was all thanks. That night, after the battle, Lord Raglan met him wandering about, not knowing where to go, so he asked him to dinner. Of course he came, and delighted every one present with his charming manner and conversation.

But to return to the march: the advance was made in an oblique line, even after we had closed in with the French, the divisions of General Bosquet and Suleiman Pasha being nearly two miles in advance of the left of the English. About 11 A.M. we came within sight of the heights of Alma. The army was then halted, and the allied Generals advanced to the front of our skirmishers, and reconnoitred the enemy's position. Even at this distance we could see that it was a position of immense strength; and what appeared at first sight as dark patches of underwood, on the side of the hills, proved to be masses of infantry when examined with a telescope. The plan of attack was then finally settled as follows:—The division of General Bosquet, supported by the division of Turks, were to endeavour to cross the river Alma at its mouth, and, under the protection of the guns from our ships-of-war, to gain the heights, and in that manner turn the Russian left. This done, the two other divisions of the French army were to force the river, and the English the same; but it was clearly understood that the English were not to

advance to the attack until the French had gained the heights nearest the sea, and turned the Russian left. The relative positions of our divisions were the same as yesterday, except that the 4th Division, under Sir George Cathcart, marched more in the rear of the 1st, thus forming as it were a deeper side; so that the baggage, &c., which was in rear of the centre of the allied army, was more completely protected against any sudden attack the enemy might make on our flank. After a halt of twenty minutes the advance was sounded, and the troops moved on with an eagerness not observable before, for they saw before them their enemy. The march was still with an oblique front, and shortly after 12 we heard the ships of the fleet shelling the heights next the sea. We were at too great a distance to judge whether they took effect on the enemy; but from the accounts given by some of the prisoners and wounded Russians taken after the battle, it appears that one battalion suffered severely, and that all the Russian troops at that point (some 4000 men) were moved away out of range of the guns from the ships: consequently the

French had the passage of the river at the mouth unobstructed, and gained the heights with very slight loss.

It may here, however, be as well to give you some idea of the position held by the enemy. The river Alma is a winding stream, and at this time of year of no great depth. Here and there are pools, but generally speaking the water was not more than knee-deep. Its banks are very steep, varying in height from 4 to 10 feet, and on both sides are either copses or vineyards, and occasionally groves of trees of larger size, of which the common poplar is most frequently met with. However, on the northern side (our side) of the river, the enemy had cut down and removed all trees and brushwood that could in any manner make cover for our men during the attack. There were two villages on that side of the river; one about a mile from the sea (Malamak), opposite the centre of the French army; and the other (Bourlik), two miles higher up, and just in front of our right. Both of these villages were small, not exceeding fifty houses each, but still giving admirable cover for the troops.

of the enemy. On the south side of the river, extending from the sea nearly to the village of Bourlick, is a range of heights, at places almost perpendicular, resembling cliffs, varying from 300 to 500 feet above the sea. On the top the ground is level, and not unlike what we had been marching over for the last two days ; and at a distance of half a mile from this edge, and about two miles from the sea, was an unfinished stone tower, probably intended as a telegraph station. Round this the enemy had constructed a low parapet, in which they had placed some field guns : this was again protected by large masses of infantry. Such was the position in front of our allies, and so strong was it by nature, that the Russians had not thought it necessary to strengthen it further than I have stated, except indeed by having large numbers of infantry in the brushwood on the south side of the river, thrown out as skirmishers.

In front of the English the Russians held a no less formidable position. The heights I mentioned as being opposite the village of Bourlick from that point recede, running back for some distance, and then returning towards the river a mile

higher up, thus forming a vast ravine, something in the shape of a V. The ground in front of the English, on the other side of the river, rose more gradually, forming species of plateaus or terraces as it ascended the ravine. The enemy had taken advantage of these terraces to place their guns of position. On one plateau they had 13 brass guns, 32-pounders (I believe), behind a low parapet, which was not of sufficient height to cause any difficulty in getting over. It had evidently only been put up as a slight protection for their gunners against our sharpshooters. This battery commanded the road and bridge over the river, and, as it presented two faces, could also fire upon any troops coming up on their right. Higher up, but some way more to their right, was another parapet, behind which were 9 heavy guns; the object of this was to prevent their right being turned. The enemy had also 18 guns placed in line, above the road, but without any parapet or épaulement to cover them; these guns swept the whole of our front, and caused us a very heavy loss. The road alluded to passes the village of Bourlick on the left, and crosses the river by a strong wooden bridge,

which the enemy had to a certain extent destroyed, but which was still practicable for the passage of troops. From this point the road runs through the before-mentioned ravine, and winds its course up the steep ascent at the end of the valley, and then subsides into a track on the great plateau beyond.

I fear from my description you will hardly understand the nature of the ground occupied by the enemy; I must therefore refer you to the accompanying plan, which, although rough, will, I hope, bring before you more clearly than my explanation the difficult ground which the British troops had to attack. All this time I must beg you to suppose that the French troops on the left have been collecting in force on the extreme point of the heights next the sea. It was now near 1 P.M., and Marshal St. Arnaud gave the order to his troops to advance. We also were approaching the enemy, but slowly, as Lord Raglan did not wish them to be inactive under fire a moment longer than was necessary. The French advance into the river was received by the Russian skirmishers with a well-directed fire, and many of our allies fell to rise no more. However, they went steadily on, and crossed at a rapid

pace, driving the enemy up the steep heights before them. Some confusion was occasioned here among the French by the inequality of the ground, and the difficulty of getting up the steep bank of the Alma. Nevertheless, they by degrees formed up on the opposite side, and then commenced climbing the heights in front of them. This delay had given time for the Russian skirmishers to regain the plateau, so that as the French advanced the enemy poured upon them a most destructive fire, which they were almost unable to answer.

But to return to the British. Lord Raglan had placed himself, with his staff, in front of the troops, and I must tell you that by this time the staff had grown to three times its proper number: that is to say, every officer of the commissariat or medical department who had a quadruped chose to join the head-quarter staff, as probably the best position for seeing the battle. I should think there could not have been less than fifty or sixty mounted officers. This great number began to be a nuisance, as it perpetually obstructed the view, and they crowded round the Commander-in-Chief in a manner that in any other service would have been thought

highly impertinent, and resented accordingly. Some one suggested to Lord Raglan that it would be as well to hint that those gentlemen not actually serving on the staff had better move off. However Lord Raglan, with his usual good-nature, said, "Let them stay;" and then added, "You know, directly we get under fire, those not obliged will depart, you may rely upon it." Lord Raglan was quite right. In two minutes the first shot was fired against us by the enemy. I looked at my watch; it was exactly $1\frac{1}{2}$ P.M. The shot, which was evidently fired at the staff (the only body of horsemen in sight and the most advanced), fell short and bounded over us with a whiz that made many duck their heads. You should have seen the hangers-on scattered in all directions. There was no more crowding round Lord Raglan. About two minutes after the first shot was fired the Russians set light to the village of Bourlick, and in a few moments it was in a blaze. Large quantities of hay and straw had been collected for the purpose in different parts of the village, so that it burnt most fiercely. Indeed I think they rather overdid it, for

before we advanced the greater portion of the village was reduced to ashes. The smoke from it, however, for the first quarter of an hour completely hid from us the Russian position. I am not sure that it did not cut both ways, for they could not see us a bit better than we saw them.

Lord Raglan, immediately after the first shot, ordered Sir George Brown to deploy his division into line, and then for the men to lie down ; he also sent the same directions to Sir De Lacy Evans. This was done, and during the time thus occupied the Russians poured an unceasing torrent of round shot and shell at them, but as yet without doing much harm. The enemy's skirmishers also kept up a sharp fire against our rifles, who replied to them with equal vigour, but not, I fear, with equal success, as the Russian sharpshooters were behind walls and trees, &c., whereas our men had no cover of any sort or kind. Two batteries of artillery attached to the 2nd Division opened fire on the Russians, but they had hardly sufficient range to be of much service. Some rockets were also fired, which we afterwards heard caused the enemy some

confusion. The Russians kept a certain number of guns firing at the staff, and, as for some time Lord Raglan remained on the road, the shot came bounding along half a dozen at a time: anything but pleasant. We were very fortunate, for no one was hit. Two horses were killed, and the shot that killed the last almost touched Lord Raglan's back. He took no more notice of the firing than if he had been at a review; all his thoughts were turned to the French, for he had expected before this to have heard from Marshal St. Arnaud that he had successfully turned the Russian left. He accordingly despatched Commandant Vico to see how they were going on. Vico had not been gone a moment when a French staff-officer came galloping up (I think from Prince Napoleon), begging Lord Raglan to advance, and adding, "*Nous sommes massacrés!*" Lord Raglan thought it no use remaining inactive any longer, although he had heard nothing from the Marshal. We were losing men every moment from the heavy fire of the enemy, and the troops had now been lying down for nearly twenty minutes. He consequently ordered the whole line to advance. A minute more

and the men were on their feet, and the two divisions, Light and 2nd, advanced towards the river. The 1st and 3rd Divisions were then deployed into line and took up the ground in rear of the Light and 2nd Divisions respectively, and in support. Directly Lord Raglan saw them in motion he turned to his staff and said, "Now we will cross," and, taking himself the lead, he trotted on to the right of the burning village. Here there was a moment's pause as to how we should get over the river: some one suggested a road to the left; down this we went, and found ourselves under as heavy a fire from small arms as I should ever wish to be. There were several burning hayricks close to us, and to see the way in which the bullets knocked out the sparks was wonderful. I know nothing so disagreeable as the singing sound of a Minié bullet; it is quite different from a round ball, which whistles softly as it passes you.

We now came to the bank of the river, which here makes a sudden bend; there was a drop of about three feet into the water, for, although this was evidently a regular ford from the road

running down to it, and another a little lower down on the opposite side, the enemy had cut the bank away, though in a very ineffectual manner. It was no use waiting to be shot on the bank, so—more from funk, I believe, than courage—I stuck my spurs into my horse and jumped into the river, and to my intense disgust down he went, and I got wet up to my middle; however, he was up again in a moment. My first impression was that he had been shot; it turned out to be a hole the enemy had dug so as to break up the ford; my ducking was of use, for everybody avoided the place where I had been, and no one else met with my misfortune. Just going into the river we were under cover from the Russian riflemen, as there was a high bank by the waterside which protected us. Directly we got into the river, and were crossing to the road on the opposite side, a very heavy enfilading fire was poured upon us, both from cannon and small arms. In the river two of the staff were shot down; but Lord Raglan, whose presence of mind never left him for a moment, turned to one of his staff and said, “Ah! if they can enfilade us here, we can certainly onfilade them on the rising ground beyond.

Order up Turner's battery!" He then went on, following the road, which turned away to the right. In a minute more we were among the French skirmishers, who looked not a little astonished to see the English Commander-in-Chief so far in advance. A sudden bend of the road again to the left brought us under the most infernal fire from some of the guns posted, as I before mentioned, in front of our line. We were in a sort of lane with high hedges on both sides, and the round shot came down it in a manner I shall never forget. What appeared to save us was that almost invariably the Russians fired too high, as all the shot went just over our heads. I say all, though more than one horse was killed in this lane, but I think always from ricochet shot. We were not long in this lane, or none would have been left to tell the tale; for presently to our right we came upon a bit of open ground, which gradually rose higher and higher to some 70 or 80 feet. Here there was a sort of landing-place, and from it could be seen the whole of the Russian guns almost in line with us. Lord Raglan at once saw the immense importance of getting guns up here, where they could enfilade all the Russian guns.

One, two, three aides-de-camp were sent to know why Turner's battery did not arrive.

During all the time I have been telling you the movements of the general staff, the Light and 2nd Divisions had been advancing. Sir George Brown took his division into action, with his right resting on the road, and with a certain interval between him and the left of the 2nd Division. These advanced in admirable order; but in crossing the Alma, the banks of which were very rugged and steep, they of course got into some sort of confusion, and during the whole time the Russian riflemen kept up a most murderous fire upon them from behind the walls of a vineyard which was just the other side; nevertheless these brave men moved on regardless of the severe loss they were every moment sustaining. The 2nd Division advanced at the same time as the Light, but, in consequence of the burning village of Bourlick being in their immediate front, they were not able to advance in one line. One brigade, under General Pennefather, marched on the left of the village, and then crossed the river, leaving the bridge to their left; whilst the greater portion of

the other brigade, under General Adams, went down the road to the right of the village and forded the river just below where Lord Raglan immediately after took his station. The 2nd Division had in front of them a cloud of infantry skirmishers, who caused them very heavy loss crossing the Alma. They were also under the direct fire of the eighteen guns placed in line across the valley ; one of these guns they afterwards captured.

The Light Division crossed the river rather sooner than the 2nd ; they then got into the vineyard, and as it was impossible to form-up into regular order, from the natural obstacles of the ground, without a halt of some minutes, Sir George Brown urged on his men, and so they advanced, driving the Russian skirmishers and riflemen before them at the point of the bayonet. But their most terrible time was yet to come : directly they got out of the vineyards double the number of guns opened upon them with grape and canister. In spite of the numbers mowed down, the remainder never flinched, but kept up a telling fire upon the Russian gunners. On they went, and after a time actually reached the Russian

battery : then commenced a regular hand-to-hand encounter, the Russians defending themselves with great bravery, but our men fighting with that English determination which almost invariably overcomes every obstacle. For a minute a Russian gun was captured by the 23rd regiment, but immediately after our men were overpowered by numbers. A fresh column of Russian infantry had come up in support of their beaten comrades ; and the English, being reduced to half their former strength, were obliged to relinquish the hold they had gained, and the division was compelled to give way before the overwhelming forces of the enemy. Still, however, although retiring, these brave men never turned their backs on the Russians, but kept up a regular and effective fire ; and wherever the enemy attempted crossing bayonets with them they invariably repented their temerity.

It was just at this time that the brigade of Guards came up on the left of the Light Division, and the brigade of Highlanders again on *their* left. This magnificent division—the flower of the British army—had crossed the river rather higher up than

the Light Division, and consequently were on its left. The attention of the enemy being chiefly taken up in repelling the attack of Sir George Brown, the 1st Division had formed-up after crossing the Alma; and although they incurred considerable loss in so doing, they nevertheless advanced in most beautiful order; really as if on parade. I never shall forget that sight—one felt so proud of them. Lord Raglan had been looking on all this time, having arrived on the high ground before alluded to just as the Light Division advanced up the hill. When he saw the 1st Division coming up in support, he said, “Look how well the Guards and Highlanders advance!” An aide-de-camp came up at this moment, and reported the arrival of two guns of Turner’s battery. “Thank God, the guns at last!” The delay arose from the fact that in crossing the ford a wheel-horse of one of the guns had been killed by a round shot, which caused great confusion, and completely blocked up the passage of the river for the time being. I believe also several artillerymen were wounded at the same time. At last two guns were got over, but they

arrived at the spot where Lord Raglan was without any gunners (at least, I think there was only one bombardier besides the drivers). However, this was no time for delay, so the officers of General Strangways' staff dismounted and served the guns themselves. The first shot fired fell too short; it was aimed at the Russian 18-gun battery, which was causing our 2nd Division in its immediate front, and the Light Division and brigade of Guards on its right front, great loss. The guns were only 9-pounders, and the distance was considerable. The second shot, however, went through a Russian tumbril, and killed two horses. Those two shots were sufficient: the Russian General, seeing that he was taken completely in flank, gave orders for them to limber up their guns. This they did admirably, but, during the time, our two guns kept playing on their retiring artillery, causing them great loss; and the gunners and two more guns of Turner's battery having now arrived, the firing went on rapidly.

But to return to the 1st Division. They were advancing in beautiful order, and marched straight on the Russian battery; when half-way up the hill,

not been into action, each regiment nominally consisting of 3000 men ; yet such was the imposing air and perfect formation of the British troops opposed to them that they never advanced out of the slowest walk. The 1st Division paused for a moment—it was only to “lock-up” more closely. Some one said to Lord Raglan, “The Guards are going to retire ;” but he knew them better, for he said, “No such thing ; they’ll carry the battery. It’s time for us to go and join them.” Leaving directions with Captain Turner to fire upon the Russian columns of infantry advancing down the hill opposite against the 1st Division, he descended into the valley, and rode over it in the direction of the Guards. Before we had got half-way we saw the 1st Division and the Russian columns approaching towards one another, at a distance of sixty yards apart ; the brigade of Highlanders having been brought round so as to take the Russian columns in flank, the whole division sent in a withering volley, which perfectly staggered the Russians, literally knocking over every man in their two front ranks. The enemy stopped, fired a random volley,

turned, and fled, without another attempt at staying the victorious course of the British troops. The moment the Russians turned, down went the bayonets, and the whole division charged up the hill, dashing through the battery, and capturing a gun which some Russian artillerymen were in the act of carrying off. Cheering as they went, they bayoneted hundreds of the flying enemy. They were followed by the Light Division, which had been some time re-formed, and even assisted the 1st Division in repelling the advance of the Russian masses of infantry. The 2nd Division advanced also, and charged up the valley ; they also captured a gun and limber complete, besides driving the enemy like sheep before them. All the artillery was now over the river, and came into action on the knolls and high ground at intervals in the valley, the retreating enemy losing hundreds of men from our accurate and consequently destructive fire.

In the meantime our allies had carried all before them ; after a most sanguinary struggle at the unfinished stone tower of which I told you, they succeeded in driving the enemy off the field. The

Russians, beaten everywhere, retreated as fast as possible. Many hundred men threw away their arms and accoutrements to facilitate their flight; and as the Allies advanced, they found the ground strewn with muskets, knapsacks, cartouch-boxes, great-coats, and helmets, long after the killed and wounded had ceased to fall.

On the further heights, about a mile and a half from the Alma, the British troops ceased their pursuit. And then arose such a cheer!—a cheer from 20,000 victorious men!—even some of the poor wounded fellows joined in it. I shall never forget that cheer as long as I live; it was indeed thrilling; I almost pitied the fallen enemy, it must have been so galling to them, as I heard a man of the Guards say to a comrade, “I say, Bill, pleasant for them poor devils (pointing to some wounded Russians) hearing our chaps cheer so.” The men were tired, and many almost exhausted for want of water. Lord Raglan rode up and down the line of troops, the men cheering him vociferously. There was such a shaking of hands; one felt very choky about the throat, and very much inclined to

cry, as one wrung the hand of a friend ; and " God bless you, old fellow—so glad to see you all right ! " and like expressions, were heard on every side between brother officers. It was a touching sight to see the meeting between Lord Raglan and Sir Colin Campbell. The latter was on foot, as his horse had been killed in the earlier part of the action. He went up to his Lordship, and, with tears in his eyes, shook hands, saying it was not the first battle-field they had won together, and that now he had a favour to ask, namely, that as his Highlanders had done so well, he might be allowed to claim the privilege of wearing a Scotch bonnet. To this Lord Raglan, of course, gave a smiling assent ; and, after a few more words of friendship on both sides, they parted to their several duties.

The brigade of light cavalry had taken no part in the battle, having watched the flank of the army. But now they arrived on the left of the Highlanders, having been ordered up some time previous, together with a troop of horse artillery, which advanced somewhat and fired a few rounds into the still retreating Russian columns ; but, although at first they did

great execution, the enemy were soon out of range, so they were not able to do them more harm. Lord Raglan now ordered the brigade of Guards, 2nd Division, and 4th Division, who had taken no part in the action, up the opposite heights, which commanded the road to Sevastopol. The cavalry went in front of the infantry, and from some misconception of orders Lord Cardigan would not allow any prisoners to be taken. An officer of the 8th Hussars, who was somewhat in advance with his troop, and who had captured some 60 or 70 Russian soldiers, was ordered by Lord Cardigan to let them go again, quite as much to the astonishment of the Russians who had been taken, as to the Hussars who had captured them. The battle was over at 20 minutes to 4 P.M. by my watch: that is to say, the last cannon-shot was fired at that moment by the Russians, but far out of range. I suppose it had been intended as a defiance to us.

Nothing struck me more during the day than Lord Raglan's wonderful calmness and presence of mind during the whole battle. He rode everywhere, with round shot, shell, and musket-balls flying about him, with an indifference that was

really remarkable ; never got apparently excited in voice or manner, and might just as well have been riding in Rotten Row in Hyde Park. Shortly after on these heights Lord Raglan met Marshal St. Arnaud, where, after mutual congratulations, Lord Raglan wished very much that some pursuit should be made of the retreating Russian army. He offered our cavalry, and I think two or three batteries of artillery, but said the infantry had suffered so much that they could not well advance without weakening too much the English force. Marshal St. Arnaud replied that he could send no infantry, and that his artillery had exhausted their ammunition : indeed he appeared to think that quite enough had been done. Lord Raglan saw there was no help for it, and therefore much against his will gave up the pursuit. The French had upwards of 12,000 men who had never been engaged, besides the division of Turks (6000 men) ; whereas we had only the 3rd Division and a portion of the 4th, in all perhaps 7000 men, that had not taken a part in the action ; in fact, not more than sufficient for the immediate necessities of the camp. It was a great error on the part of the French, and one of

which they repented when it was too late. The enemy had so large a body of cavalry, about 3000 regulars, besides as many more Cossack irregulars, that it would have been madness to have sent our small force alone, consisting of some 900 horses, all of whom were much fagged with the three previous days' work, besides which, if our cavalry were absent, in the event of any Cossacks appearing in our rear, we should have been obliged to have kept all our infantry under arms, and the troops would have been perpetually harassed. And indeed I am not sure that, except with a large force, much could have been done against the retreating army, for after the first mile or so they got into some order, and placed heavy masses of infantry and artillery in their rear, who had never taken part in the battle—in fact, the reserve troops.

On the further heights now occupied by the British troops a Russian general named Shokanoff was taken prisoner, and, when Lord Raglan and his staff came up, he was sitting on one of the gun-limbs of Captain Wodehouse's battery, looking perfectly comfortable. On his being questioned, he

said that he was a general of one of the reserve brigades, and that he had been thrown from his horse, and being an old man could not get on again without help, and as his men were all then retreating as fast as possible he could obtain no assistance, and so he lay down on some straw, where he was taken prisoner by some of our artillerymen. He said the Russians had about 42,000 infantry on the ground, about 80 or 90 guns, and 6000 cavalry; that they had come to fight against "men," not "devils;" and finished his account by saying, that, as he was an old and almost useless man, he hoped the English general would send him to Sevastopol, or allow him to follow his comrades. Lord Raglan said that that was of course impossible, but that he would be taken great care of, and every respect shown him, and, as the accommodation in camp would not be first-rate, he should go immediately on board ship, and he would send him to the English Admiral, who would receive him with all hospitality. The poor soul said he had never been on board ship in his life, and had a particular aversion to the water. Nevertheless

that evening he was sent down to the shore and taken on board the "Agamemnon," and Sir Edmund Lyons put him up and treated him like a friend.*

The French have taken a private carriage, which they say belonged to Prince Menchikoff, who, it appears, commanded in person. In this carriage have been found a quantity of papers, but, from the last account I have heard from one of the Marshal's staff, they are not of the importance that was at first imagined. In fact it is very doubtful whether it was really Menchikoff's carriage; far more likely to have belonged to one of his attendants, especially as it is the most scrubby concern you ever saw, not in the least like the great heavy, lumbering, though comfortable carriages, in which I have always seen the upper classes in Russia travel.

Towards six o'clock Lord Raglan returned to the Alma river, after having seen the troops take up their ground and bivouac on the site of the Russian camp of the morning of that day. Going over the field of battle was a dreadful sight, everywhere torn

* He was afterwards sent to Scutari, and died two months later (I think) of cholera.

and mangled bodies of brave soldiers, English and Russian, only three of the latter to one of the former. In some places where the fight had been hotly contended, the dead and dying were lying on one another, and their groans and piteous cries for water were heart-rending. Lord Raglan, till a late hour at night, was giving orders and instructions for the accommodation of the wounded. One of his two tents was given up for the use of some wounded and sick officers. The remaining houses in the village of Bourlick were turned into field hospitals, and here might be seen the surgeons hard at work at their terrible but merciful duty, their arms covered with blood, the floors strewn with limbs just amputated, and slippery with gore. The enormous number of wounded quite overpowered the unceasing efforts of the medical officers, who worked all night without rest, and many I understand were quite knocked up, and had to give in for a certain time. The first night between 400 and 500 wounded were brought into the field hospitals, but this was only a third of the British; there were from 900 to 1000 Russians lying about

in all directions. The cholera was also at work and swept off many who had taken part in the battle. Poor General Tylden (commanding the R. E.) died of it during the night.

About seven o'clock in the evening General Torrens arrived with his brigade, having cleared the beach at Kalamita Bay the day previous, but as it was so late in the afternoon they could only march a few miles, and bivouacked, I think, near the village of Tagailii. The morning of the 20th they marched at daybreak, and General Torrens made every effort to get up in time for the action, which he felt sure would take place on the Alma, but without success. They picked up a great many stragglers on the march ; and as these men were more or less ill, and the day hot, and there was no water, they could not march fast, and consequently the brigade did not arrive until the evening. Strange to say, they never heard the firing, and, until they arrived at the Alma, did not know that an action had been fought. General Torrens was dreadfully cut up when he heard the frightful loss of his old regiment, the 23rd Fusileers, eight officers killed and five

wounded, besides nearly 200 casualties in the ranks. I had not seen him to speak to since his coming out to the East, so I went up to him ; he shook me most warmly by the hand, and said, " Ah ! this is the place to meet again, my dear fellow, on the field of battle, after so brilliant a victory." *

You will have observed that I have not mentioned anywhere in this letter the bravery shown by any of the English generals in particular. I have purposely refrained from it, as it would be presumptuous for me to do so, for I can't pretend to be any judge ; and you will doubtless see in Lord Raglan's despatch those he thinks most worthy of mention. Nevertheless there were three who attracted the attention of every looker-on, Sir George Brown, General Pennefather, and General Codrington ;

* General Torrens, afterwards Sir Arthur Torrens, K.C.B., for his distinguished service at Inkermann, where he was badly wounded. He died in Paris in August 1855, from the effects of this wound. I had the melancholy satisfaction of paying a last tribute of respect to his memory, by attending his funeral, on the 27th August in Paris. He was buried with military honours at the " Père la Chaise," regretted by all who knew him for his great qualities of mind, and courage and coolness under fire.

they all, by their example, voice, and gesture, in encouraging their men, &c., made themselves particularly conspicuous. Pray don't fancy I mean by this that any of the others were wanting in either of these qualities. Where all behaved so well it is perhaps not fair to particularize, but certainly these three were especially remarkable. I lay down late at night dead tired, and in spite of the excitement of the past day, and the many feelings aroused in my mind, fell asleep in a few moments, but not before, I trust, I had returned humble and grateful thanks to God for his mercies of the day.

I was up at daybreak on the morning of the 21st, and, filling my flask and a bottle with weak brandy and water, I sallied out to walk over the field of battle. The poor wounded were far more quiet than the previous evening; many doubtless had died during the night, and many were too exhausted and weak to do more than moan. I found all glad of something to drink, and my little store was soon finished, and then I went back for more. Although it was only just light, numbers of our men were going about among the wounded, giving them

drinks of water from their canteens. Many told me they had been doing so all the past night. God bless them for it! It was a horrible scene—death in every shape and form. I particularly observed that those shot through the heart or forehead appeared all to have died with a smile on their faces, generally speaking lying flat on their backs, with the arms spread out and the legs rather apart. Some looked so happy, poor fellows! that one felt comforted, and thought that they, at least, were now where no sorrow is. Those who appeared to have died in the greatest pain were shot through the stomach; these had always their legs and arms bent, and with all the expression of agony on their faces.

But I won't tell you any more of these dreadful details; I could write a volume of instances of the noble fortitude of the wounded, and the numberless instances of kindness and consideration of the men towards their wounded comrades, and how one less wounded than another would assist him to move or place himself in a less painful position. One man, whose leg was dreadfully shattered with grape-shot, and to whom I offered some drink (it was the last

drop in the bottle), said, "Oh, Sir, if you would give it to that poor chap there! he has been very bad all night; he is shot through the chest; may be a drink would make him easier." I went to the man indicated and found him hardly conscious; however, he swallowed what I offered him, and gave me a smile of thanks that was worth any amount of trouble to receive. I fear he must soon after have died, as death was stamped on his countenance then. I was anxious to do something for the man who had so generously given up the last drop in my bottle for his dying comrade. I was by this time a mile from head-quarters and the river, and it was getting late; I did not know whether I should not be wanted for some duty or other. I could not, therefore, go and get any more drink and return, as it would take up so much time. However, to my delight, I saw a party of men with stretchers shortly after, and in a few minutes had the satisfaction of seeing my friend being carried to the hospital, where he would get every attention as far as circumstances would admit.

In the course of the morning there was a conference between Marshal St. Arnaud and Lord

Raglan; the former wished much to advance and follow the enemy. To this, however, Lord Raglan would not listen; he said he had nearly 3000 wounded English and Russians, and that, as we were over three miles from the sea, it was quite impossible to move them all on board ship under two days. The Marshal *said* he had lost over 1200 men *hors de combat*, and out of that number 1000 wounded had already been moved on board ship, or would be so by the evening. I say, that is what the Marshal *said*; but everybody else said it was a great exaggeration. I know General Forey, who went over the whole of their field of battle, put their loss at between 700 and 800 at the outside; but he also added, that since leaving Kalamita Bay they had lost nearly 300 men dead from cholera; and it was stated by several French officers that this number had been added to the list of killed and wounded at Alma! It appears strange that, if the French had 1200 men *hors de combat*, they should only have three officers killed, which is all the Marshal admits. It is notorious that the French officers always go in front of their men,

and consequently are much exposed. The greater portion of the French wounded fell within a mile from the beach; and they also had a number of large waggons, not ambulance waggons, but store waggons, and these they used to carry down the wounded from the heights to the sea-shore; they were then transferred on board ship.

On returning towards head-quarters Lord Raglan saw a French gun-limber drawn by six horses, standing a few yards from where the two Russian guns that we had captured had been placed, so he sent one of his aides-de-camp and Vico to know what they wanted. M. Vico asked first of all one of the French drivers; he answered, with the most perfect innocence, that they had come to fetch the gun. "What gun?" "Oh! one of the guns taken by the English." Cool, rather, I think. However, on M. Vico asking a French sergeant who had come in charge of the limber, he was sharp enough to say that he had been sent by the French general of artillery to take the *calibre* of the gun! A strange way of doing so, to send a sergeant with a limber and six horses. There could be no doubt

that they came with the full intention of taking one of the guns away ; and, indeed, the Marshal almost admitted it to Lord Raglan, for the next day he proposed that all trophies taken from the enemy should be divided between the two armies. This was of course not agreed to by Lord Raglan, who knew there would be endless disputes. Besides, it was an unheard-of thing, dividing trophies captured in action. In the event of a fortified place being taken after a combined attack of an allied force, the case would be different ; then doubtless the trophies would be divided, in proportion to the number of troops engaged by each power. To do our allies justice, I think they give us the glory of the battle ; and they are loud in their praise of the bravery displayed by our soldiers. We have certainly gained immensely in their estimation.

Another Russian general officer was brought in this morning and placed in a tent at head-quarters, close to which had been established the field hospital for the Russian wounded. He was dreadfully wounded ; shot in the hip and bayoneted in the stomach. He is Major-General Karganoff, and

commanded one of the brigades in the battle that were driven back by the Guards. He was a fine-looking old man of some sixty years of age, and suffered great pain the earlier part of the day, but towards noon became easier: mortification had set in, and, although dying, he was in far less pain. Mr. Calvert, who, I think, I mentioned to you is attached to head-quarters, and speaks Russian perfectly, went and talked to him. General Karganoff said that he had one consolation, which was, that he had received his wounds from the Guards, from the Royal English Guards! "Oh!" he said, "with troops like those, you can beat anything." He also said that he admired "the savages without trousers," meaning, of course, the Highlanders. He talked much about his family—his poor wife and daughters, and hoped after his death that a few little things he had about him would be sent to his friends. Of course this was promised to him.*

* I believe he died, poor man! on board ship going down to Scutari. His wishes were complied with. Lord Raglan had all his things sent, I think, to Odessa, where his family lived at the time.

Six hundred sailors and marines were sent up from the fleet to help carry down the wounded to the shore. Nothing could exceed the cheerfulness, care, and kindness with which they performed this tedious and laborious duty.

The following day (the 22nd) was passed much in the same way as the previous one, still collecting wounded, entirely Russians though, who had fallen at some distance from the river. There were no less than 400 wounded Russians brought into the field hospital close to head-quarters during the morning, independent of over 300 that remained from yesterday, who had not yet been removed on board ship. The remainder of the dead were also being buried; working-parties might be seen digging fresh pits, as a score or two more corpses were discovered in some out-of-the-way place. The same number of men were sent from the fleet again to-day, and by the afternoon all the English wounded were moved on board ship. There still remained some 750 Russian wounded, who could not be moved; and as it had been decided that on the morrow the army should

march, it was settled that they should be left to the mercy of some of the inhabitants of a village higher up the Alma river, who were told to take care of them ; a quantity of food was also left ; and a medical officer, a Dr. Thompson of the 44th regiment, most nobly volunteered to remain and give his valuable assistance (probably his life) to the humane office of relieving as far as in him lay the suffering of these poor wounded creatures.

The army were under arms at an early hour this morning (the 23rd), but we did not actually march off till near seven o'clock. As we turned our backs on the Alma, we thought with a sigh of the many noble hearts, the many dear friends and gallant comrades, left buried by the banks of the Alma river.

The army advanced in the same order as before the battle ; we moved over the same kind of undulating ground, not unlike the downs of Sussex—the French and Turks still on our right. The Russian retreat must have been made in better order than most had imagined, for there were not many traces of a beaten army. A good many helmets and knapsacks were to be met with, and

occasionally a ghastly corpse, but altogether it did not give one the idea of a disorganized force. We arrived at the Katcha river by 11 o'clock, having only come about six miles. Lord Raglan was for pushing on to the Belbec, five miles farther, but Marshal St. Arnaud objected, I believe chiefly as he wants to land large reinforcements that have arrived from Varna for the French army. I hear the Scotch Greys and 57th regiment have arrived, which will be an acceptable reinforcement to us. The greater portion of the army have bivouacked on the hills south of the Katcha. The cavalry have been sent in advance to occupy a village some two miles on. The 4th Division hold the heights north of the river. Lord Raglan and the general staff have quartered themselves in the pillaged and partially ruined houses of this village, Eskel. Here are the most beautiful vineyards and fruit-gardens I ever saw. It is much to be feared that the men will make themselves ill, they eat such an amount of fruit. It is certainly very difficult to resist; the grapes are delicious, and every sort of fruit is to be found—peaches, plums, melons of

every sort and kind ; apples, pears, quinces, and, except the three latter, all ripe ; yet—will you believe it?—I have seen numbers of our men eating unripe apples, in preference to some of the finest grapes I ever tasted, in the same garden. It is useless remonstrating with them. I told several that it was the surest way of getting cholera. It had no effect, they would go on eating just as one used to do at school. There has been an attempt to put sentries round some of the gardens ; however, the men manage to evade them, and carry away their havresacks full of fruit.

I have just heard that Lord Raglan has received a despatch from Sir Edmund Lyons, brought up to head-quarters from the “*Agamemnon*” by Lieut. Maxse, informing him that the Russians have sunk five line-of-battle ships and two frigates across the entrance of the harbour of Sevastopol ! That looks like a desperate defence.

I must now bring this to a conclusion. You will probably see a hundred accounts of the battle of Alma in the newspapers, all of which will differ in their descriptions of each act of that

bloody drama: many doubtless much better than mine; but I think on the whole what I have stated is correct, although there may be occasional errors. We march from here to-morrow morning for the Belbec. This will leave to-night I hope with the despatches which Lord Raglan sends home by Lord Burghersh, his first aide-de-camp.—Adieu!

P.S.—As I have just seen the Adjutant-General's return of the casualties, I enclose the grand total.

Killed.—26 officers, 19 sergeants, 2 drummers, 306 rank and file, and 26 horses.

Wounded.—73 officers, 95 sergeants, 17 drummers, 1427 rank and file.

Missing.—2 drummers and 16 rank and file.

Grand total.—1984 casualties.

CHAPTER V.

Balaklava — Katcha and Belbec — Head-quarters — Council of war — Propositions — Sir John Burgoyne — Flank march — View of Sevastopol — Khutor Mackenzie — Surprise of Russian baggage — Night bivouac — Lieut. Maxse, R.N. — Genoese castle — Surrender of Balaklava — Arrival of Sir Edmund Lyons — Women — Prisoners — Lord Raglan's house — Harbour — "Agamemnon" — Hospitals — Resignation of Marshal St. Arnaud — Departure for France — General Canrobert — French cupidity — Encampment of army — Head-quarters before Sevastopol — "Berthollet" — Allied camps — Reconnaissance on heights of Inkermann — Death of Marshal St. Arnaud — Alarm — Breaking ground — Redoubts — Trenches — Batteries — Naval brigade — Accurate aim — First parallel — Monastery of St. George — Turkish works — Morning in trenches.

Balaklava, 28th September, 1854.

WE arrived here two days ago, having thus secured a base to commence operations against Sevastopol, and land the siege train, &c., for the reduction of that place. But before entering into any details as to future proceedings I will give you an account of our doings since the date of my last letter. It was on Sunday, the 24th instant, that we quitted the **Katcha**, and marched about midday towards the **valley of the Belbec river**. The reason of our start-

ing so late in the day was, that a large number of troops were landed early in the morning, viz. some seven thousand French infantry, our Scotch Greys and 57th regiment, and it was to give them time to join their respective divisions, &c., that the march of the army was delayed. The same relative position of the allied forces was adopted as before, but, the ground being less open and not so even, it was found best to move the troops in columns of regiments instead of brigades. The troops were thus brought more alongside one another, and consequently closer together. Great fraternizing took place between the men, especially the Guards and Zouaves, who seem to have a mutual admiration for one another. The day was intensely hot, and no one was sorry to find the march very short—between five and six miles.

The valley of the Belbec is far finer than anything we had yet seen: there were trees in abundance on both sides the river; many good houses, I believe generally villas, belonging to the richer inhabitants of Sevastopol; beautiful vineyards and orchards, far surpassing even the fruitful banks of the Katcha. The whole army crossed t'

river by a stone bridge at the village of Belbec. It is strange the Russians never destroyed this bridge, for had it been done we should have had considerable difficulty in making another, and the river was rather deep to ford without great inconvenience. At any rate it would have retarded our advance for probably half a day, if not more. The entire army crossed over the river and took up a position on the heights on the south side, with the exception of Sir George Cathcart's division and the 4th Light Dragoons, who remained as before to guard the rear of the Allies. Lord Raglan and his personal staff occupied a very pretty villa ; it had been most wantonly plundered, and much handsome furniture, pictures, mirrors, books, and china were strewed about in all directions ; everything was broken and rendered useless. Who were the perpetrators of this wanton act it is difficult to say ; some said the Cossacks, others—and I believe they were in the right—said the Zouaves had done it.

It was quite extraordinary to see the quantity of fruit that our men eat ; no number of sentries, no warning from their officers, were of the least use ; fruit they would have somehow or other. It cost

many a poor fellow his life : the cholera increased greatly, and the number of deaths doubled during the rest of the march.

During the night the Russians gave us an alarm, which only had the effect of setting the men under arms for five minutes : the enemy fired one or two random shots from some field-pieces ; one cannon-ball came whizzing over head-quarters, fell harmless, but had the effect of putting many of us on the *qui vive* for a quarter of an hour. Nothing more coming, we were soon in the land of dreams again.

The following morning, the 26th, Lord Raglan went early, accompanied by the general officers of his staff, and had a long consultation at the French head-quarters, which was somewhat in advance of the village of Belbec, on an eminence in rear of the ground taken up by the French troops. Marshal St. Arnaud was so ill that he could take but little part in the conference. He this morning resigned the command of the French army to General Canrobert, who, as it was always imagined, had authority from the Emperor, in the event of anything happening to the Marshal, to take the com-

other objection to the plan was, that, even in the event of our getting immediate possession of all the works on the north side, it was very questionable whether the south side would be in our power. The batteries that defended the south were equally massive and as well armed as those on the north side, and we should only have the advantage over them of a few feet elevation. Doubtless in course of time we might batter down the town, possibly only the nearer part ; but that would not necessarily compel the enemy to surrender or even abandon the position.

All these objections having been taken into consideration, it was resolved not to sit down before the north side ; there was, therefore, no alternative left but to attack the south. Then came the question of how to get there. It was proposed by the French that the army should force its way down the road which leads across the head of the harbour of Sevastopol, and between the two Inkermann lighthouses, and, following that road, gain possession of the plateau beyond, which extended all the way to the sea. To this there was

one great objection, viz. that we should be exposed to an awful fire from the ships in harbour whilst crossing its head, and also that the Russians would be made immediately aware of our intentions. Sir John Burgoyne then proposed that a flank movement should be made by the Allies; that they should move off in an easterly direction, gain the high road from Sevastopol to Batchi-Serai, and then turn south and march on Balaklava, which, taken by surprise, would doubtless fall without much loss into our hands. We should in this manner possess a harbour said to be admirable; or, if that was not found practicable, we had still only to advance and take possession of the bays near Cape Chersonese, which would form good harbours for landing stores, and for the requirements of the army. There was another advantage in this proposition, namely, that the enemy would in all probability be completely misled by the flank movement. They would probably imagine that we were marching on Batchi-Serai, so as to cut off Sevastopol from assistance or supplies. This proposal of Sir John Burgoyne's was strongly seconded by Lord Raglan, and, I be-

lieve, also by Marshal St. Arnaud and General Bizot (the French *chef du génie*). It was finally settled that the flank movement should be immediately put into execution, and, as the English were on the left, they were to lead the way. The direction to be taken was south-east, along a range of heights that overlook the ruins of Inkermann and the Tchernaya river, until we arrived at the road before mentioned ; the army was then to follow the road down the heights into the plains below, and, after crossing the Tchernaya river, advance on Balaklava. Information of the intended movement was sent to the admirals, that they might co-operate with the land forces in the event of opposition being made by the enemy to our taking possession of any of the harbours before mentioned.

Our cavalry were now ordered in advance through the wood ; then followed the artillery of the Light and 1st Divisions along a sort of track—it could hardly be called a road. The artillery was protected on its left flank by the 2nd battalion of Rifles ; behind them came the Light Division and 1st Division in column of regiments ; then the 2nd ; then the 3rd.

These were followed by the French and then the division of Sir George Cathart & were protecting the rear. The infantry and very heavy work marching through the wood, especially close in front. The road was left empty for the artillery and the baggage of the army.

During the time the army was getting into action Lord Raglan and his staff rode on towards Sevastopol to reconnoitre the works. The first glimpse we had of the town from the land was certainly very striking: there appeared a great number of striking buildings, some of large size, probably barracks. Then there were several handsome churches, and many large private houses with green roofs to them. All the buildings were of white stone, and with the sun on them, quite dazzled one. The harbour looked beautiful—very extensive; the water so quiet and so blue; the remainder of the fleet which had not been sunk riding at anchor with the Russian ensign flying from their peaks. There seemed little movement either in the town or harbour; and although our staff must have been conspicuous, and we were within easy range of their heavy guns, they took no notice of us.

After a careful reconnaissance of the town, Lord Raglan followed the road which the artillery had been ordered to take, and, trotting on, placed himself at the head of the column on the line of march. After proceeding for about four miles through the forest, the trees became thinner, and it was evident that we should soon be clear of it. Lord Raglan had been for some time wondering that we had not come upon the cavalry, who had been sent in advance, and therefore sent two of the officers of his staff into the wood on our right to try and find them. Two hussars of the escort and a staff officer were a hundred yards or so in advance of the head-quarter staff; these all at once came back, and reported that there were Russian troops on a road just in front of them. General Airey rode forward with his aide-de-camp to see what they were, and, returning in a minute, announced that it was evident we had come upon a Russian convoy or troops on the line of march, as there were numbers of waggons guarded by infantry marching northwards along the road at right angles to the line by which we were marching. Lord

Raglan sent again some of his staff to search for the cavalry, and also to hurry up the 2nd battalion Rifles, who were close by in the wood to the left, and the Light Division in their rear. The horse artillery were ordered to be in readiness to advance immediately the cavalry got up. And Lord Raglan's escort, consisting of a troop of the 8th Hussars, under the command of Captain Chetwode, were thrown out in skirmishing order in front. After a pause of a few moments the advance of the cavalry came up, and just at the same moment the Russians got the alarm and began to run ; directly it was seen that they were taking to flight, it was very properly supposed that they were not in force, so the cavalry that had arrived were sent in pursuit, and a troop of horse artillery. The guns opened from some rising ground on the fugitives, causing them some loss. One party of Russians rallied for a moment, and gave Captain Chetwode's troops a volley ; but as every bullet went over their heads, they must have been too frightened to take the least aim. The Russians abandoned all their waggons, and fled into

male and female. Several wigs I saw being offered for sale, amidst the laughter of the men. French books and novels of an improper kind were not unfrequently met with in the baggage of the Russian officers. All these were offered for sale and disposed of to the highest bidder. A gold Hussar pelisse would sell for about 30s. or 2l. The halt lasted for nearly two hours—the infantry piling arms in an open space near the spot where we first saw the Russians. Here was a long low building, which was used as a barrack for troops on the march from Sevastopol to the interior; it was something like a long open barn, and might put under shelter some 1200 men; there was also a large range of stabling, with room for 200 horses. This was what is marked on the maps “Khutor Mackenzie,” or Mackenzie’s Farm. Our men, who had suffered much from the want of water, were able here to fill their canteens from two wells found close to the buildings.

About 4 P.M. the line of march was continued from the heights of Mackenzie down the road into the plains below; as we advanced into it the

country again assumed the same down-like appearance that it had worn previous to our reaching the Belbec river. The heights of Balaklava were to be seen some four miles in our front. At the foot of the hill we were descending ran the Tchernaya (or Black) river, a stream of some importance, seeing that it supplied the docks of Sevastopol with water, by means of an aqueduct, which, beginning at the village of Tchorgum, from there was carried, at an elevation some ten feet above the river, until it reached the town.

The army bivouacked by the Tchernaya, the centre being at a stone bridge called "Tractir" on the maps; the Light and 1st Divisions crossing it, and occupying some high ground on the southern side; the remainder staying on the north. Lord Raglan and staff also bivouacked in the open air, close to the river. As none of his lordship's baggage had arrived, being still in rear of the French and Turks, he was literally worse off than the rest of the army, as neither he nor any of the head-quarter staff had rations with them, with which of course every one else was provided. How-

the woods on either side the road, where many were followed by our men, and killed, or taken prisoners, according to the amount of resistance they displayed. The Scotch Greys, especially, seemed determined to make up for not having been at Alma, by pursuing the enemy with great perseverance into the thickest parts of the wood near the road. This was continued for a distance of two miles along the road, until, coming to a steep hill, which descended into the valley of the upper Belbec, it was thought best to recall the troops. A large quantity of baggage thus fell into our hands; I believe about seventy waggons and carts, out of which were six for small-arm ammunition; these, as being quite useless to us, were ordered by Lord Raglan to be destroyed, and were accordingly blown up by Captain Fortescue of the Royal Artillery, and made a grand explosion that shook the ground for a long distance. It must have had a pleasing effect on our enemies. The rest of the waggons chiefly contained black bread for the troops, of no great value. There were also several carts belonging to officers of the 11th Hussars. We took a few prisoners, amongst

whom was a Russian officer, a captain of artillery, who was found seated on a baggage waggon quite drunk. He had a champagne bottle in his hands, which he offered to us, only unfortunately it was empty. I heard that some were lucky enough to find a case of champagne, which you may be sure was not long in being disposed of. We captured but few horses, as, directly the alarm spread among them, the Russian drivers cut their traces and rode off. Looking into the plain below us, we saw a very large force of infantry and artillery: it was variously stated at from 20,000 to 30,000 men. It appeared afterwards from the prisoners that this was the army under Prince Menchikoff, whom we had beaten at Alma, now on their retreat to Batchi-Serai and Simpheropol, having left Sevastopol at 3 that morning.

The troops were allowed to pillage such of the waggons as did not contain anything of use to the commissariat or artillery; and, consequently, in a few moments the ground was strewed with every sort of thing—handsome Hussar uniforms, rich fur cloaks, every kind of under garment,

we got some rations from the Commissariat of the 1st Division, so we made a very tolerable breakfast. The army got into motion soon after 7 A.M., and advanced across the plain towards the heights of Balaklava. It was dreadfully hot, and I was shocked to see the number of men that fell out of the ranks before we had marched three miles. The cholera was raging in the ranks, and many men died during that day. We reached the village of Kadikoi, which is a mile in front of the harbour of Balaklava, at half-past ten o'clock. It was quite deserted, and all the houses emptied of everything that could be of any use to us. A portion of the Light Division was then ordered up the heights on the west of the harbour, and a part of the 2nd Division on to those on the east of the harbour; Lord Raglan and his staff followed the road into the town. The infantry advanced, covered by a cloud of skirmishers, and gained the heights on both sides the harbour without even seeing the enemy; Lord Raglan, therefore, rode on towards the entrance of the town. The general impression was that it also had been deserted; however, we were soon undeceived on that point by a shell that came flying from the old Geno-

ese castle at the mouth of the harbour, right among the head-quarter staff: it was followed by several more, but they burst without doing any damage further than that Mr. Curzon, the assistant military secretary, had his coat torn by a piece of shell, but without being hurt himself. Just at this time several much louder explosions were heard: these came from the "Agamemnon," which was firing on the castle from outside the harbour. A few minutes later and a small white flag was observed flying from the end of a musket, held by a Russian soldier close to the Genoese fort; on this signal of surrender all firing ceased on both sides, and our Rifles were to be seen entering the old castle in triumph. Lord Raglan then entered the town, and was met by the very few remaining inhabitants, who offered us bread and salt as a token of goodwill and friendship. Shortly after the commandant of the town came down from the old castle, and surrendered himself and garrison; he had only two companies of men belonging to a Greek battalion, which usually garrisoned Balaklava. There were, I think, fourteen or fifteen officers taken prisoners, all belonging to this Greek battalion. We had not arrived more than

twenty minutes in the town before Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Spitfire" came into the harbour, with Admiral Sir E. Lyons on board. He immediately landed, and going up to Lord Raglan congratulated him on the successful termination of one of the most brilliant movements ever made by an army.*

The commandant informed Lord Raglan that the wives and families of the officers we had taken, and numbers of women and children of the lower classes, had fled into the hills on the northern side on hearing of the advance of the Allies, and that he was fearful that they would fall into the hands of our soldiers before they could reach Sevastopol, and possibly meet with uncivil treatment; he therefore begged Lord Raglan to interfere in their behalf.

* I have seen it stated in more than one account that Sir Edmund Lyons was much opposed to the "flank march," and strongly urged various reasons against it. This could hardly have been the case, for no idea of it had been entertained until it was proposed by Sir John Burgoyne at the council of war held by the allied generals on the same morning that the march commenced, at which Sir Edmund Lyons was not present; and consequently he must have been entirely ignorant of the projected movement until it was actually in course of execution. Besides, the manner in which he received Lord Raglan on his arrival at Balaklava (as above stated) proves that he highly admired the "flank march."

Lord Raglan immediately sent one of his aides-de-camp, accompanied by Mr. Calvert, chief interpreter, and a Russian officer on parole (son-in-law of the commandant), to cross the harbour, and endeavour to discover these fugitives, and persuade them to return, under the assurance that no harm should come to them. In an hour and a half the officers sent by Lord Raglan returned, bringing with them some seventy women and children, of whom some seven or eight were wives of officers. At first the poor things were dreadfully frightened, but, on seeing that they were treated with the utmost respect and kindness, their confidence returned. Lord Raglan had ordered that a sufficient number of houses should be set apart for them, and sentries placed round, so that they should not be in any way molested or insulted. A great many of them, however, seeing that the British soldier was not quite the repulsive creature they had fancied, asked to be allowed to return to their own houses, which was, of course, granted; but most of the ladies went into a house all together, and were guarded by sentries against intrusion, and rationed

by the commissariat. It was Lord Raglan's intention from the first to send away all the women and children directly a steamer was available to take them. I must say that, to the credit of the British troops, during the few days the women remained in the town, not a single instance of complaint was made of any sort or kind.

Lord Raglan established his head-quarters at the house of the late commandant of Balaklava : that is to say, he occupied one room in it for himself, and a large room was appropriated as the military secretary's office ; the rest of the house he allowed the Russian commandant to retain for himself and family, until their departure from the town. The aides-de-camp and other officers of his staff camped themselves in a wretched little kitchen-garden attached to the house. The baggage at last arrived, late in the afternoon. A detachment of the Guards was ordered into the town, to garrison it for the time being, and during the afternoon two war-steamers and several sailing transports came into the harbour, so that the calm and peaceful waters were soon animated with numerous boats.

I forgot to mention that the trophies we took consisted only of four small brass mortars and six rather curious breech-loading wall-pieces, made at Liège, and also the muskets belonging to the men taken prisoners. They (with the exception of the old commandant and his son-in-law and lieutenant) were all put on board one of the steamers in the course of the afternoon.

The position of the troops was as follows:—The 1st, 2nd, and Light Divisions, and the brigade of cavalry, were bivouacked in the plain in front of Balaklava, supported by two divisions of the French army. The 3rd and 4th Divisions were pushed on towards Sevastopol, and occupied some high ground three miles north of Balaklava, together with a large body of French troops. In the evening Lord Raglan had a consultation with General Canrobert, when the latter proposed that the allied armies should change their relative positions, viz. that the English, instead of being on the left, should take the right; this the French urged we ought to allow, as, having obtained possession of Balaklava, we had a harbour in which to

land our material, and that therefore they had only left to them the Bays of Kamiesch and Kazatch, near Cape Chersonese, for the same purpose, and it would obviously be far more convenient for them to be encamped as near as possible to the spot where their stores, &c., would be landed. For these reasons Lord Raglan was induced to give way, and thus again occupy the most exposed position, while our allies were protected on both flanks.

Many men continued to be taken ill with cholera, brought on, I believe, to a great extent, by the quantity of fruit to be met with in the vicinity of Balaklava. I heard it stated that a French colonel, whose battalion was bivouacked near a vineyard, sent parties of men to gather all the grapes, and had them brought to him, and saw them destroyed, in the hope that by so doing his men would be spared from the cholera.

Early on the morning of the following day we were astonished by seeing the "Agamemnon" come gliding into the harbour, her immense form almost reaching across it. She was anchored close to the shore, opposite head-quarters. The

harbour is very deep ; on an average from seven to eight fathoms. Lord Raglan went out early and made a reconnaissance of the ground in front of our position, and decided on the spots to be occupied by the English troops. The 3rd and 4th Divisions were pushed forward to within 2000 yards of the works round Sevastopol. The French took possession of the Bay of Kamiesch and brought in some of their transports, and immediately commenced landing their siege-train. We did the same ; three large sailing ships came into Balaklava harbour, laden with siege material, and without loss of time their disembarkation was begun. Two hospitals have been established in Balaklava, one close to the water's edge, and the other (formerly a large government school) above the town ; in these two buildings there are already some 600 sick, chiefly cholera cases.

Marshal St. Arnaud was brought into the town this afternoon in a very weak state, and accommodated with the best house to be found. He is to embark for France immediately, but is so ill that his medical attendants doubt his living to see it again. Although

the town is garrisoned by the English, and it had been an agreed thing that the French troops were not to enter it, they nevertheless took advantage of the Marshal being there to bring in a battalion of Chasseurs and some Zouaves by way of a guard over the Marshal's baggage, &c. ! and of course began to commit excesses, pillaging and destroying everything they could find. However, it was not allowed to last long, for the English authorities interfered, and before night our troublesome allies were sent out of the town, except a guard of honour at the Marshal's quarters. I must tell you a little instance of the cool way in which they try to appropriate everything to themselves. During the short time they were in the town, they discovered the four mortars that we found in the old Genoese fort above the harbour, and which had fired on us when we advanced towards the town. These mortars had not as yet been removed. A large body of Chasseurs, under the command of their officers, proceeded to take them down, utterly disregarding the injunctions of the English sentries. Finding expostulation useless, one of our men went and informed Sir Edmund Lyons

(Lord Raglan and almost all his staff were out on the reconnaissance), who, I understand, immediately landed a body of marines from the "Agamemnon," and then quietly waited till the French, after no little trouble, arrived with the mortars. He then went up to the officer in command, thanked him most politely for the trouble he had taken, and informed him that he had landed some marines to take possession of them. The Frenchman looked astonished, then foolish ; but could make no resistance to their being at once carried on board the "Agamemnon."

This morning (28th September) was taken up in writing, as the mail goes this evening. Soon after 1 o'clock P.M. a Tartar peasant came into Balaklava and informed us that a large army was marching on us from the interior—that he had left his village two hours before full of Cossacks, forming the advanced guard, and as he came towards Balaklava he saw large bodies of troops behind him coming on. Lord Raglan and his staff immediately rode out to the high ground on the plain in front of Balaklava, calling on his way at General Canrobert's

tent—he being encamped just at the head of the harbour, in a vineyard. The 1st, 2nd, and Light Divisions were got under arms in the course of a few minutes, the cavalry and artillery turned out, and every preparation made to meet the expected attack. General Canrobert joined Lord Raglan on an eminence on the right front of the town, and from which spot an extensive view could be obtained of the country before us.* A careful reconnaissance was made, but no enemy could be discovered. The cavalry were then ordered to patrol in strong parties, but in two or three hours returned, with the like result.

I have just returned from the 3rd and 4th Divisions, which are, as I have already told you, before Sevastopol. I was sent up with some orders to Sir R. England and Sir G. Cathcart. I found the latter at his dinner, which had been twice most disagreeably interrupted by a shell from the Russian

* This height was always afterwards known as "Canrobert's Hill," as it was here that Lord Raglan first met General Canrobert in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the French army.

batteries in front of the town. Sir George had pitched his tent in a stone-quarry, and it was just in front of it that he and his staff were partaking of their dinner. All at once they heard "Whiz—whiz—whiz—WHIZ, BANG!" and a shell exploded a few feet from them, to their intense disgust and the discomfiture of their dinner arrangements. On this being repeated a second time, they thought it more prudent to shift their dining-place to a spot less attractive to Russian shot and shell. Sir George Cathcart is all anxiety to assault the town, and, I believe, thinks he could take it with his division alone. I fear he is somewhat rash, and appears to wish to cut out a line of his own.

I have thus endeavoured to tell you the most interesting events of the last few days, and in my next letter I hope to be able to give you an account of the commencement of the siege of Sevastopol, the capture of which place is looked upon as certain by the larger portion of the army. There are many who talk of our immediate occupation and the probable evacuation of the garrison as a thing already arranged.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
October 7th, 1854.

Lord Raglan shifted his head-quarters, on the 5th instant, from Balaklava to its present position. We are now about midway between Balaklava and Sevastopol,* at what was a sort of country villa, with large farm-buildings. Perhaps you may be curious to know what kind of place it is. Picture to yourself a low one-storied white house, with a deep roof of red tiles, as the centre ; from each side of this runs, at right angles, a series of low cottages and sheds, built of mud and stones, whitewashed, and roofed with tiles. These ranges of buildings are joined together at the end by a low stone wall, the whole thus forming an enclosed space equal to about the size of Lowndes Square in London. There are rows of young trees on the two sides, between which are pitched our tents, the sheds and cottages being so dirty and full of vermin that it would be out of the question living in them whilst

* According to the Russian maps Balaklava is 15 versts from Sevastopol by the road, or nearly 11 English miles ; I doubt it being more than 8 in a direct line.

in their present state. At the back of these buildings are several small yards, enclosed and surrounded by wooden sheds in a very dilapidated condition. These have evidently been occupied, until very lately, by cattle. Outside these again is the garden, or rather vineyard, which covers a space of some six acres, the whole surrounded by a low wall built of large loose stones. There are also, on the outside of the vineyards, several cottages, but all in a tumbledown state.

I must now tell you who belong to head-quarters. The house I described as being in the centre consists of six good-sized rooms, and three or four small closets hardly to be called rooms. Lord Raglan occupies only one of the rooms for himself; the one next him on one side is General Airey's, the Quartermaster-General; and the other (a large room, the best in the house) is used as a general reception and dining-room; here also the councils of war are held. Beyond this is a room in which Sir John Burgoyne lives. The two remaining are used as the Military Secretary's office and as an apartment for the French Commissioner attached to Lord

Raglan's personal staff. In the small closets I spoke of are the doctor and one or two aides-de-camp; the remainder of the staff are in tents round the house. The outbuildings beforementioned are put to various uses; the best is taken up as an office for the Quartermaster-General's department, where all the plans of the roads and country are drawn out, besides the immense mass of correspondence that has to be carried on in connection with the department. All the officers belonging to this office live in tents. Another of the outbuildings is used as an hospital, and two long sort of barns as commissariat stores. The Adjutant-General's department is at the outskirts of the vineyard, and consists of a variety of little cottages, many without roofs, and tents. At the bottom of the garden is a road, on the other side of which are the headquarters of the Royal Artillery, which consist of a number of tents erected inside four walls of what has at one time been a farm-building. Besides the foregoing, we have two companies of the 68th regiment as a guard, and a troop of the 8th Hussars for Lord Raglan's escort and as

mounted orderlies. Altogether, at head-quarters there are about 35 officers and 250 rank and file, besides 160 troop and staff horses, and a small commissariat train of animals and waggons. As you will probably be anxious to know what has been done since I last wrote, I may as well give you some extracts from my journal.

On the 29th ultimo Lord Raglan went early in the morning to take leave of Marshal St. Arnaud, who that day left for the Bosphorus, on board the "Berthollet" French steam frigate. He found the Marshal very ill and weak, and able only to speak in a whisper a few words of thanks for his visit. Lord Raglan was much touched with the interview, and tears stood in his eyes as he turned away from the sick room. The doctor in attendance on the Marshal told Lord Raglan that he did not think he would live through the day, or, at any rate, would never survive to reach the Bosphorus. In the afternoon the Marshal was carried on board the "Berthollet," which immediately put to sea. Lord Raglan spent the greater part of the day making a reconnaissance with Sir J. Burgoyne of the enemy's

works in front of Sevastopol, and the more he saw of it, the more he was convinced of the utter impracticability of attacking the town without first reducing the fire of the Russian batteries. From prisoners, deserters, and secret information, it had been already ascertained that there were upwards of 35,000 fighting men in the town and on board the ships of war in the harbour, and large reinforcements were to be expected daily. To-day the ground which each army was to take up, for the purpose of besieging the town, was settled between the French and English generals of engineers. The troops of the two armies before the place are now divided by a great ravine, which runs up from the end of the Man-of-War Creek, out of the great harbour of Sevastopol, up to the English head-quarters, a distance of some three miles. On the 1st of this month 1000 marines were landed at Balaklava from the fleet to occupy the heights in front and above it; thus relieving the like number of men of the 1st Division, who had up to this time done duty there; the remainder of the division being at the front. An invalid

battalion has also been formed of all the young and weak soldiers of the army; they do duty as the garrison of Balaklava. The entrance to the town itself is protected by the 93rd regiment, camped about a mile in front of the head of the harbour, at the commencement of the plain. These, together with the cavalry and three batteries of artillery, form the troops for the defence of Balaklava; the whole being under the command of Sir Colin Campbell. For the last three days the greatest exertions have been made landing the siege-train and the necessary stores for the gigantic operations about to be commenced for the reduction of Sevastopol.

On the 2nd, after a long conference between Lord Raglan and General Canrobert, the latter agreed to place a portion of the French army (under the command of General Bosquet) on the heights overlooking the valley of Balaklava and the Tchernaya river, in this manner covering our rear from any attack of the enemy. If you will look at the map, you will see what I mean by the following description of the position now occupied by the

Allies. Kamiesch Bay is on the extreme left of the French army ; they take up the ground from there to the great ravine running from the Man-of-War Creek, a distance of some six miles. On the other side of this ravine rests the extreme left of the English, viz. the 3rd Division ; then comes the 4th and then the Light Division. These divisions are all nearly in line as far as the ground will admit, and parallel to the town at a distance of nearly two miles, occupying high ground which commands an extensive view on all sides. Beyond the Light Division come the 1st and 2nd Divisions, occupying the ground from the Karabelnaia ravine in a backward direction along the heights in front of the ruins of Inkermann and the valley of the Tchernaya—the distance of the English positions being nearly four miles. The ridge of heights overlooking the plain in front of Balaklava, and which runs at right angles from those already mentioned to the head of the harbour, is occupied for the most part by French troops—the heights above and in front of Balaklava being defended by the British ; the whole front thus defended by the allied armies extending from Ka-

miesch Bay to Inkermann, and from there again back to Balaklava, being a distance of upwards of fifteen miles! The position is one of great natural strength, but of too considerable extent for the number of troops that defend it—the Allies numbering at the present moment something under 50,000 bayonets. Nevertheless, it is doubtless the very best that could be taken up, and when our reinforcements arrive will be, I believe, almost impregnable against any attack from the enemy.

A careful reconnaissance was made of the ground in front of the ruins of Inkermann by General Airey and some other members of the staff, accompanied by two or three officers from the French headquarters. It was not very pleasant work, as the Russians kept up a constant fire on us of round shot and shell from three steamers at the upper end of the harbour. However, nobody was hit, but the horse of a French staff-officer was wounded severely by the bursting of a shell. On the 4th instant the Russians sent a great many heavy shot and sometimes a shell over the heights in front of the town, right into the camps of the 3rd and 4th Divisions ;

they did but little harm generally speaking, though one shell fell at the door of a tent, and, bursting, killed one man and wounded three others. An immense quantity of ammunition has been brought up to the front for the siege. Upwards of 100 guns have been landed of the siege-trains and from the ships, with about 300 rounds per gun ! pretty well to begin with.

October 5th.—We heard to-day of the death of the poor old Marshal St. Arnaud. He died the day after leaving Balaklava, at sea. His remains are to be conveyed to France. I believe he is much regretted in the French army, as, although I don't think they thought much of him as a soldier, still he was considered by them as a fortunate man and a successful general. In his private life he was very popular for his good-natured manner and generous hospitality.

Lord Raglan moved up this day from Balaklava to the farm-house I endeavoured to describe to you at the beginning of my letter. I was left behind in Balaklava until late in the day, on duty, and had to witness the parting between the poor old Russian

commandant and his family. They had up to this day been allowed to live all together in his house, but he was now to be removed down to Constantinople; his family are to be sent to-morrow in a steamer to Yalta, together with some other women who have up to this time continued here. It was a painful scene; those poor women weeping so bitterly, as they clung round the old man, whom they could hardly expect to see again; one felt somehow ashamed of oneself in having to witness their sorrow, and being obliged to hurry the parting, as the boat was waiting to take him away a prisoner.

Dr. Thompson, surgeon of the 44th regiment, died of cholera this morning. He had only arrived here two or three days from the Alma, where, as you may remember, I told you he had so nobly volunteered to remain to attend the Russian wounded left on the ground. The hard work and constant exertion he went through for several days after we left the battle-field brought on an attack of dysentery, which terminated fatally with cholera. His name will ever be mentioned with pride and admiration by his

countrymen as they remember his noble devotion in the cause of humanity.

This morning (7th) we were turned out between five and six o'clock by a report that reached headquarters that the enemy were advancing in force on our rear. A few minutes' gallop brought Lord Raglan and his staff to the heights overlooking the plains of Balaklava, and through the morning mist he could discover a body of troops on the further side of the plain. As it was very doubtful of what force they consisted, Lord Raglan thought it prudent to order the troops under arms, which was accordingly done. It appeared that just after daylight one of our cavalry (heavy dragoons) pickets were surprised by some of the enemy's cavalry, one of our men being killed and three made prisoners. The others escaped and gave the alarm; and on our supports being brought up, the enemy retired, having lost three or four Cossacks killed and wounded by the fire from Captain Maude's troop of horse artillery, which he brought into action with great rapidity and address. I heard great

blame given to Lord Lucan for not ordering the light cavalry to advance and charge the Cossacks, who were a long way from their supports, and, which it was asserted, could easily have been done. As I did not see any part of the affair myself, I will not give an opinion. I am sorry to say that there is a very general impression in the army that the cavalry have been most wretchedly handled, and have not shown the same efficiency as the rest of the army. In an hour or two, as the morning got clear, the enemy retired altogether from the plain to the other side of the Tchernaya river. Their force was then put at about 5000 infantry, 2500 cavalry (Hussars and Cossacks), a battery of 8 guns, together with a small train of waggons. It was doubtless only a reconnaissance on their part, probably to ascertain our position, &c. &c.

The French are constructing five small but strong redoubts, and three batteries connected by a low parapet, along the ridge of heights in the rear of the position and overlooking the plains of Balaklava. They are well able to do this, and have received large reinforcements within the last few days to the

amount of 12,000 men. When these works are finished they are to be occupied by the division of Turks attached to the French army. Some redoubts and batteries have also been marked out by the English for the better protection of Balaklava. Those on the heights above the town, which are being made by the Royal Marines, are progressing rapidly, but we are dreadfully in want of men. Our brigade of heavy cavalry has been most unfortunate ; in bringing some of them over from Varna last week, we lost, during a gale of wind, 130 horses ! a large reduction to our small force. There are great difficulties in the way of our constructing batteries and trenches in the usual manner, as the ground we shall have to work upon is very rocky, the general depth of earth being not more than 18 inches. I understand the ground the French have got is very good soil, so they will have a great advantage over us when we commence making the trenches. To make up for this want of soil, an enormous number of gabions, fascines, and sandbags will be used, but these take much time and labour to make, and consequently much retard the progress

of the siege. I have all along thought that we underrated the defences of Sevastopol on the land side. I know, when the first reconnaissance was made by the French and English engineers, they all thought that we ought to get into the town in a day or two; but since then, every day brings to light fresh difficulties which must be overcome, so that now the siege is talked of as likely to last some time. I believe we are really to commence breaking ground to-night; a large trench, of nearly 1200 yards in length, has been marked out by our engineers, at an average distance of 1800 yards from the batteries of the enemy; this will be the first parallel of the English attack. There is one drawback to much work being done at night just now, which is, that the moon is so bright that it is wonderful how far you can see.

We have received some small reinforcements since I last wrote; between 800 and 1000 infantry, and 1500 artillerymen for the siege. Besides these, upwards of 1200 sailors have been landed fleet, and are known as the naval are to be employed in the batteries :

during the siege. They are a magnificent body of men, and are working hard now dragging up ship-guns from Balaklava to the two siege-trains. The brigade is under the immediate command of Captain Lushington, of H.M.S. "Albion." Lord Raglan has sent to request the Turkish government to send him the troops they offered him at Varna some time ago. It is expected that some 4000 or 5000 men will arrive in the course of a few days, and I understand it is intended to employ them chiefly to occupy the works to be constructed about Balaklava.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
October 13, 1854.

We are progressing with our trenches and batteries, and it is said shall open fire on the enemy's works in the course of three or four days. Up to the present moment not a single round has been fired by us, as it is thought that opening all at once will have a greater effect on the enemy. On the evening of the 7th instant we broke the first ground, and during the night a small battery was constructed

for one of our new Lancaster guns of 95 cwt. This is to fire at a Russian three-decker, said to be the "Twelve Apostles," which, being anchored broad-side on at the end of the Man-of-War Creek, completely sweeps the ravine running up into our lines from the harbour. It is fondly hoped that these new Lancaster shells may set her on fire. Our battery is over 3000 yards from the Russian liner; but if the report of the long range and accurate fire of these guns be true, the distance is not too great to cripple the ship in question.

On the evening of the 8th Lord Raglan made a reconnoissance by moonlight of the ground before the town; he was accompanied by his staff. He afterwards rode about for some hours over the ground in front of our position. The enemy kept up a sharp fire during the time we were there, but without doing any harm.

Up to the 9th instant the weather had been beautiful ever since the 18th of September, but on that morning it began to blow and continued doing so all day. It felt dreadfully cold after the hot days we had had for so long. The Russians fired more

than ever, perhaps to keep themselves warm ; however, their shot and shell fell so thickly into the camp of the Light Division, that it was deemed necessary to have it moved back some 200 yards, which made it just out of range.

A man of the Rifle brigade made a good shot to-day ; he was on out-picket, and, seeing a Cossack officer on a *white* horse at a considerable distance, thought he might as well try and knock him over. He accordingly fired, and the man fell from his saddle, the horse trotting away. The distance was said to be upwards of 1300 yards by several officers qualified to judge on the subject. A perhaps equally good shot was made by the Russians from one of their batteries two days ago. A French officer of Engineers was making a reconnaissance of the enemy's works, but at a distance of nearly a mile. The Russians fired a gun at him, his leg was taken off by a round shot, and the poor man bled to death before he could be carried to the hospital.

During the night of the 9th another battery was constructed by us for four large guns, viz. one Lancaster and three 68-pounders, ship-guns, and all the

following day men were kept working at it and a trench on either side for the covering party. The enemy poured showers of shell at our new work, but did it no damage worth speaking of; they wounded three Highlanders, who were part of the covering party. These shells play odd tricks sometimes; to-day one came whizzing against a tent in the camp of the 4th Division, and burst, blowing the tent to pieces. There were seven men who had been on duty last night, and who were all lying asleep inside; not one was touched!

The French broke ground on the evening of the 9th, and had made a trench upwards of 1000 feet long by daylight the next morning; this parallel is, on an average, at a distance of 1200 yards from the Russian works. The enemy never discovered that they were at work, so they were unmolested, and consequently the trench was admirably constructed; the soil was well adapted for the purpose, being a rich loam, so it was easily put into any form, and stood at a good angle. Our ground is very different, being (when not rocky) very loose and crumbling, and therefore cannot be made to stand at

a proper angle without an extra amount of gabions, fascines, and sandbags. The following evening (10th) Lord Raglan rode out about ten o'clock to see the first parallel constructed. This was what I told you had been marked out a day or two ago. The ground taken up by the English for their part of the siege extends from the great ravine on our extreme left to the Karabelnaia ravine, which runs up on the right of the Light Division, and between it and the 1st Division. This ground is divided in two by a third ravine, along which passes the Woronzoff road, and is therefore named after it: this ravine runs up between the 4th and Light Divisions. It is also to divide our siege-works—those on the left being called the “Left attack,” and those on the right the “Right attack.” It was the 1st parallel on the left attack that was commenced on the evening of the 10th instant; it extended right across the ground from the left ravine to the centre, a distance of something over 1200 yards. To construct this 1200 men were sent down as a working party directly after dark. They were protected by three battalions of infantry (about 2000 men). By daylight the fol-

lowing morning (11th) good cover had been obtained, so that the work was partially continued throughout the day: in this parallel batteries are to be made for 36 guns. Lord Raglan did not return to headquarters until past 2 A.M. There was to have been a corresponding parallel constructed from the centre to the right ravine, as the commencement of the right attack; but in consequence of the working or covering party parading too late, it was so dark, that when the men arrived on the supposed ground the officer of Engineers, who had to point out the work, could not find the marks which had previously been laid down. They had, therefore, to return to camp, having done nothing. However, the following night they were more successful, and the whole length of trench was opened, about 370 yards. The working party consisted of 400 men, protected by a covering party of 700 men. This parallel is to have batteries for 21 guns.

The weather again became warmer, and on the morning of the 11th, being off duty, Mr. Calvert and myself decided to ride over to the monastery of St. George, situated on the edge of a cliff above the

sea, about four miles from head-quarters and three south of Cape Chersonese. We found the monastery more beautifully situated even than we had been led to expect from the description we had heard. The cliffs are very high, about four hundred feet, and of endless variety of colouring. The monastery, as a building, has nothing imposing about it. It consists of several separate houses, where the superior monks formerly resided, and one long building, containing a passage, out of which were a number of small rooms or cells: in these lodged the ordinary monks. There is also a refectory and a small hospital, but both are in wretched condition. Below these is the chapel, situated on a terrace which has been constructed in the side of the cliff, and which appears almost to hang over the sea, three hundred and fifty feet below. The chapel externally has nothing to boast of, being a small whitewashed square building, with a copper dome, painted blue with gilt stars; but inside, like all Greek churches, it is covered with ornaments, chiefly pictures of the Virgin and Child in gold and silver plate, with only the face and hands painted. Mr. Calvert, speaking

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Russian, entered into conversation with one of the monks who had remained ; from him we learnt some information. Directly it was known that the Allies had landed in the Crimea, the superior pope (as he is called) of the monastery retired into the interior, taking with him much of the most valuable plate and relics. He was soon followed by many more, but some ten or twelve have remained, in the hope of saving their chapel. Directly the English took Balaklava one of the monks came to Lord Raglan and begged him to protect the monastery from pillage, which he promised to do. So, when it was settled that the French were to have Kamiesch, Lord Raglan asked General Canrobert to send a guard to the monastery to prevent its being plundered. This was done, and at the time we visited it there was a party of Zouaves charged with its protection. Thus they had lost nothing by the Allies. There is a garden in terraces down the side of the cliff to the beach below ; it is thickly wooded on each side, so that, looking up from the sea, it appears quite secluded. Whilst we were there the hour for vespers arrived, so we went into the little chapel to hear the

chanting. It was very solemn, and some of the monks had fine deep voices which harmonized well together: the response that goes through all the service is particularly grand; literally translated, it is "Holy, holy, holy God, hear us." It brought back to my remembrance most vividly the time when I last heard those same words chanted, viz. at the chapel of the monastery excavated out of the rock in the Valley of Jehoshaphat near Batchi-Serai. It was just three years ago, at a special service for the Grand Dukes Michael and Nicholas. How little I thought then under what different circumstances I should hear again the chant which struck me so much! There was something touching too in hearing these men singing their beautiful service, everything within so peaceful and in such repose, yet from just outside the walls of the monastery could be heard the whistling of shot and bursting of shell from Sevastpol, flying on their mission of death and destruction; and nearer were to be seen

armed armies, in all the full activity and bustle of camp. Towards the end of the service all the monks turned and bent towards us, at the same

time crossing themselves. I asked Calvert what it meant, and he said they were praying for us—their enemies—that God would drive our anger away from them and make us turn to their true faith and religion. We returned to our tents, much pleased with what we had seen and heard, and I promised myself an early repetition of a visit to the monastery of St. George.

A large body of Turks are being now employed in the construction of five small redoubts, to be armed with two iron guns each, in front of Balaklava, across the plain, at a distance of a mile and a half from the end of the harbour. Major Nasmyth, of Silistria, who is doing duty with the Royal Engineers, has the direction, assisted by a Prussian officer, Captain Wagman, attached to the staff of the army. These redoubts are to be garrisoned by Turks, and it was on this account that Major Nasmyth was selected for the duty, as he knows so well what kind of work is best suited for them. On the 12th Lord Raglan was out the greater part of the day, making careful investigation into the interior arrangements of the different camps, especially the

hospitals. There is still, I am sorry to say, a great deal of cholera in the army. The casualties from it are daily twelve or fourteen deaths, and from thirty to forty fresh cases brought into hospital. The casualties from the fire of the enemy, since our arrival at Balaklava to the present day (12th), have only been five killed and twelve wounded. I was sent down into the trenches, left attack, in the afternoon, with instructions from Lord Raglan to the colonel in command. It was anything but pleasant work, as the last two hundred yards before you get into the trenches are quite exposed, so, directly I made my appearance, some five round shot were sent at me, and I had to keep my eyes open to get out of their way. It has been observed that if an officer makes his appearance the enemy fires directly, but a private will probably be left alone; they must have good telescopes to be able to make out which is which at that distance. I got into the trenches just before dusk, and found all the men, with the exception of the sentries, lying close under the parapet, as the round shot came through the upper part, as it is not yet of sufficient thickness to resist

balls. The last quarter of an hour before dusk the Russians always appear determined to give us something to remember them for the night. This evening they poured dozens of shot at our works every moment, and, although many of us had dirt and stones knocked about us, not a soul was hurt. This cannonade did not last long, as directly it got dark they ceased firing almost entirely ; so our men were immediately set to work deepening the ditch, and consequently making the parapet higher and thicker.

Soon after 4 this morning (13th) I got up and rode down to the trenches to see what work had been done during the night, and also afterwards to visit the out-pickets and try and get a sketch of the ground some way in advance of our trenches. It was pitch dark, and not very easy to find one's way ; however, I arrived all right at our farthest out-lying picket, and then advanced on foot to our most advanced sentries. Knowing that before me there was somewhere a high rock, which I had observed the day before, I made a guess and fortunately came upon it, and, clambering to the top,

lay down to wait for daylight. In a quarter of an hour it came, and I found myself in a most commanding position for seeing the enemy's works; I was on a rocky excrescence, at the top of the ravine between the English and French attacks, but some five hundred yards in advance of both. I proceeded to make an eye-sketch of the enemy's batteries, and succeeded in some measure in doing so for some time, when I heard "*ping, ping!*" close to my ears, and found I had been discovered by some Russian sharpshooters on picket, who were now taking very deliberate aim at me. Of course I retreated as fast as possible, and fortunately escaped untouched to my horse, who was well concealed in a hollow. I rode home to breakfast at 8 o'clock, very well pleased with my morning's adventure. Since then I have employed my time in writing you this letter: I hope in my next I may announce the opening of our guns on the Russian works.

CHAPTER VI.

Reinforcements — Siege — Gunnery — Russian defences of Sevastopol — Malakoff tower — Redan — Bastion du Mât — Garden Battery, &c., — Statistics — English attacks — French works — Bombardment of 17th October — Explosions — French fire silenced — Lancaster gun — Naval brigade — Russian sortie — Artillery — Superiority of English engineering — Allied fleets — Admirals Hamelin and Dundas — Bombardment by fleets — Casualties — French disasters — Lord Dunkellin — Death of Colonel Alexander, R.E. — Captain Peel, R.N. — “Vladimir” — British daring — Description of Russian fleet sunk.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
18th October, 1854.

AT last we have begun in earnest to bombard Sevastopol. Yesterday morning saw the commencement of our fire on that unfortunate city. But I may as well finish my account of the preparations for the siege before giving you the details of our opening fire. On the 14th instant we received a considerable reinforcement to our army by the arrival of near 4000 Turkish troops. Although not of the best, they nevertheless appear a strong

men, and will, it is to be hoped, prove themselves of the same stamp as the brave defenders of Silistria. The greater portion of these men are to occupy the forts now in course of construction in front of Balaklava; a position of considerable importance, and where their worth will, in all probability, be tested before long by an attack from the enemy. This day arrived at our head-quarters a Turkish General (Omer) from Bucharest, with letters of congratulation from Omer Pasha to the allied Generals on the victory of the Alma and their successes since that day. He is also to remain for the present as a sort of Turkish Commissioner, to keep Omer Pasha informed of our doings. Soon after 1 P.M. the Russians opened a tremendous fire against the French trenches and works. This lasted for an hour and three quarters, during which time they threw no less than 1500 projectiles, without doing much harm. The French loss was only 5 killed and from 15 to 20 wounded. A part of their trenches was a good deal knocked about, but that was repaired during the following night. General Canrobert and his staff were going round the trenches at the time,

and had some narrow escapes. General Rose, the English Commissioner attached to the French headquarters, was struck in the face by a piece of shell, just below the eye, but was fortunately not seriously hurt further than receiving a severe cut. The supposed object of this Russian cannonade was to try the range of their guns, and also to test the effect of their fire on the besiegers. We all expected the same experiment to be tried on our trenches, nor were we disappointed, although it did not take place until the 16th instant. About 10 A.M. the Russians opened all their guns on the English and French works. It gave us an opportunity of ascertaining to a certain extent what fire they could bring against us. It was computed that they fired about 80 guns against the English and 70 against the French. There is reason to believe that there are some 50 mortars of large calibre in rear of their batteries, which will open on us when the bombardment commences. The fire from the enemy lasted about the same time as that on the former occasion. I was sent down to our trenches to ascertain what casualties had occurred; it appeared that we only had 3

men killed and 5 wounded in the trenches, but the covering parties, some distance in rear of the trenches, lost 2 men killed and 11 wounded. The French loss was about the same, as far as I could ascertain. Our works hardly suffered at all; here and there a gabion was displaced, but nothing that could not be repaired in the course of a few hours.

As an instance of the admirable practice of the Russian artillery, I must tell you that on this day I had to take some orders to Sir George Cathcart. He was walking about a hundred yards in advance of his tent in the open. I rode up to him, and dismounted, and might have been in conversation with him five minutes. We were all at once interrupted by that most disagreeable sound—a shot approaching. We both looked up, but, the sun being in our eyes, could see nothing. Sir George lay down, and I endeavoured to do the same, but my horse began to take alarm, and it was as much as I could do to hold him. There was nothing for it but to wait the result. Almost immediately a tremendous roar and a heavy “thub” on the ground five yards from us told we were safe. We laugh-

when it was over, and congratulated ourselves on our escape. My business with Sir George being completed, I took my leave. A few yards back I met General Torrens, who had come out of his tent, close by, to see where the shot had fallen. I stayed talking to him for a moment, when he said, "Look out! here comes another;" and before I could turn round another monster ball fell even closer than the first. Good shots, considering we were 3200 yards from the body of the place. The shot fired was a solid 56-pounder. The enemy must be flush of ammunition if they can afford to fire at a single horseman at that long distance.

It may be as well for me here to give you some sort of idea of the defences of Sevastopol opposite our position. It would appear that, up to last spring, the Russian Government never thought it necessary to fortify with any strength the land side of the town. They had spent millions of roubles on the sea-defences, and apparently had succeeded in rendering them of so formidable a nature that no fleets in the world, except those of the Allies, would have moment of attacking them with any

idea of success. Previous to the breaking out of the war the land defences of Sevastopol on the southern side consisted merely of two towers of stone, mounting some three or four heavy guns each; these towers were built on the two most prominent positions,—one at the south-east corner, completely commanding the whole of the Karabelnaia suburb, or military part of the town, known as the “Malakoff;” the other about midway between it and the sea, on a knoll which overlooks all the civil portion of the town. This tower was connected by a loopholed wall with one of the great sea forts, and enclosed the town on the south-west side. Last spring, when the English newspapers began to talk about the probability of an expedition being sent to the Crimea, the Russian Government thought it advisable to strengthen these defences; but so little did they even then anticipate that the Allies would think of attacking the town, that no great efforts were made. They contented themselves with constructing two large earthworks. One of these was a battery with two faces, between the Malakoff Tower and the Man-of-

War Creek. This has been named by us "the Redan" from its shape. The other earthwork was a battery of two faces and two flanks, much in advance of the Redan, on the western side of the Man-of-War Creek. This the French call the Bastion du Mât, both from its shape and also from there being a flagstaff on it.*

Immediately the Allies landed in the Crimea, the Russian engineers set to work in earnest, and large batteries were constructed on every available spot that could in any way assist the defence of the place. When we first sat down before the town, we saw thousands of men employed making earthworks, and daily fresh batteries sprung up as if by enchantment. The Russians seemed determined to make up for their past apathy by working day and night. Women and children even were pressed into the service, and helped not a little by bringing up earth in baskets, filling sandbags, and carrying gabions and fascines from place to place as they might be required. The consequence of all these exertions was, that a

* This was known by the

"Flagstaff Battery."

parapet has been erected almost round the town with numerous heavy batteries. The most formidable is one in front of and round the Malakoff Tower. This battery alone mounts 18 guns; the majority are 56-pounders, the remainder 32-pounders. Between that and the Redan there is (as far as we can see) only a parapet running across a deep ravine, just to connect the two works. The Redan is said to have 16 guns in it, 8 on each face (32-pounders). Almost adjoining the Redan is another heavy battery mounting 14 guns (32-pounders). This we have named the "Barrack" Battery, as there are huge barracks just in its rear. From it there is only a parapet running down the side of the ravine, and which terminates at the head of the Man-of-War Creek.

Besides the foregoing, which are all immediately opposite our works, we have against us one flank of the Bastion du Mât, which mounts some 15 guns (24-pounders), and which fire right across our front, and would almost take our batteries in reverse if they were somewhat more forward. From it parapet runs back, down the

and meets the one from the Barrack Battery, at the end of the Man-of-War Creek. There are two small batteries in this parapet, which are close together, and indeed may be considered as one; they mount 6 guns (18 and 24 pounders). They are called the "Sandsack" Batteries, from the embrasures being constructed of *sacks* of earth, instead of the usual small bags. But perhaps our greatest annoyance arises from a battery, and one, which it will be very difficult for our guns to silence from its peculiar position, situated on high ground in rear of the Bastion du Mât, facing towards our attack. This we call the "Garden" Battery, from its being surrounded by a garden. It has 8 very heavy guns (probably 68-pounders). You will see by this that we have (if the foregoing calculations be correct) 81 guns directed against the English trenches, viz. (going from west to east):—

	Guns.
Bastion du Mât	15
Garden Battery	8
Sandsack do.	6
Barrack do.	14
.. .. .	16
.. .. .	18
.. .. .	4
.. .. .	—
.. .. .	81 guns.

Besides these there are the 20 mortars in rear of the different works.

The Russian works opposite the French are of somewhat different construction to those just mentioned. The only earthworks they have before them are the Bastion du Mât, and a battery in front of the stone tower, which they call the "Bastion Central" from its position. Both these, however, are of a very formidable nature. The Bastion du Mât brings some 20 guns to bear upon the French works, and the other almost as many. They have also on their extreme left the Quarantine Fort, a large casemated battery with two tiers of guns. Fortunately, however, only a certain number of these can be brought to bear upon the French. In all they have near 70 guns and about 20 mortars that can fire against their approaches. I must now endeavour to give you some idea of the batteries constructed by us for the purpose of subduing, if not silencing, these formidable works of the enemy. As I have told you, the English trenches are divided into two attacks—the right and left. In the right is a battery known as "Gordon's Battery," and in the left another known as "Chapman's." They

are named after two officers of the Royal Engineers, from whose directions they had been both drawn out and constructed.

In Chapman's Battery are the following pieces of ordnance :—

	Pieces.
24-pounder guns	24
8-inch do.	9
8-inch (Lancaster) do.	3
10-inch mortars	5
Total	<hr/> 41 pieces.

These are to fire against the Bastion du Mât, Sandsack, Barrack, and Redan batteries. In Gordon's Battery are the following pieces of ordnance :—

	Pieces.
24-pounder guns	6
8-inch do.	7
8-inch (Lancaster) do.	1
32-pounder do.	7
10-inch mortars	5
Total	<hr/> 26 pieces.

These are to fire against the Garden, Redan, and Round-Tower batteries.

To the right-rear of Gordon's Battery is another, quite detached, and, for its size, a most formidable work. It consists of four bastions, each, one

of them a Lancaster; all capable of throwing 68-pound solid shot. These are to fire against the Malakoff Tower and the battery in front of it, and also at any ships in the great harbour within range. Some way to the rear of this is the One-Gun (95 cwt.) Lancaster Battery. It was the first that we constructed, and, as I before mentioned, was made to fire on a Russian line-of-battle ship anchored in the Man-of-War Creek with her broadside on, so as to sweep the ravine that divides the English and French trenches. We have therefore 73 pieces of ordnance in all, to fire against 81 of the Russians. The French have constructed in their trenches five batteries and a small redoubt on their extreme left, called by them "Fort Génois." They have in these batteries 29 guns (varying in calibre from 18 to 32 pounds), 14 howitzers for throwing hollow shot and shell (they are not quite equal to our 32-pounder howitzers), and 10 mortars of about eight inches in diameter; altogether 53 pieces. You will observe how much lighter their ordnance is than ours.

It was finally arranged, after a council on the evening of the 16th, that the follow

the whole of the allied batteries should open fire on the enemy's works ; that it should commence as near 6 A.M. as possible ; and that the signal should be three shells thrown up successively from the centre battery in the French trenches. Orders were also issued, and arrangements made, for an assault on the town, should the bombardment prove more successful than was expected. It was also decided that a combined attack should be made by the fleets on the sea defences of the town. The night of the 16th was one of considerable anxiety, so much depended on the issue of the following day. Many were very sanguine, and talked about supping the next evening in Sevastopol. I don't think Lord Raglan had much confidence in our succeeding so easily, although he had every preparation made to take advantage of any opportunity of assaulting the town in the event of the enemy showing decided signs of weakness.

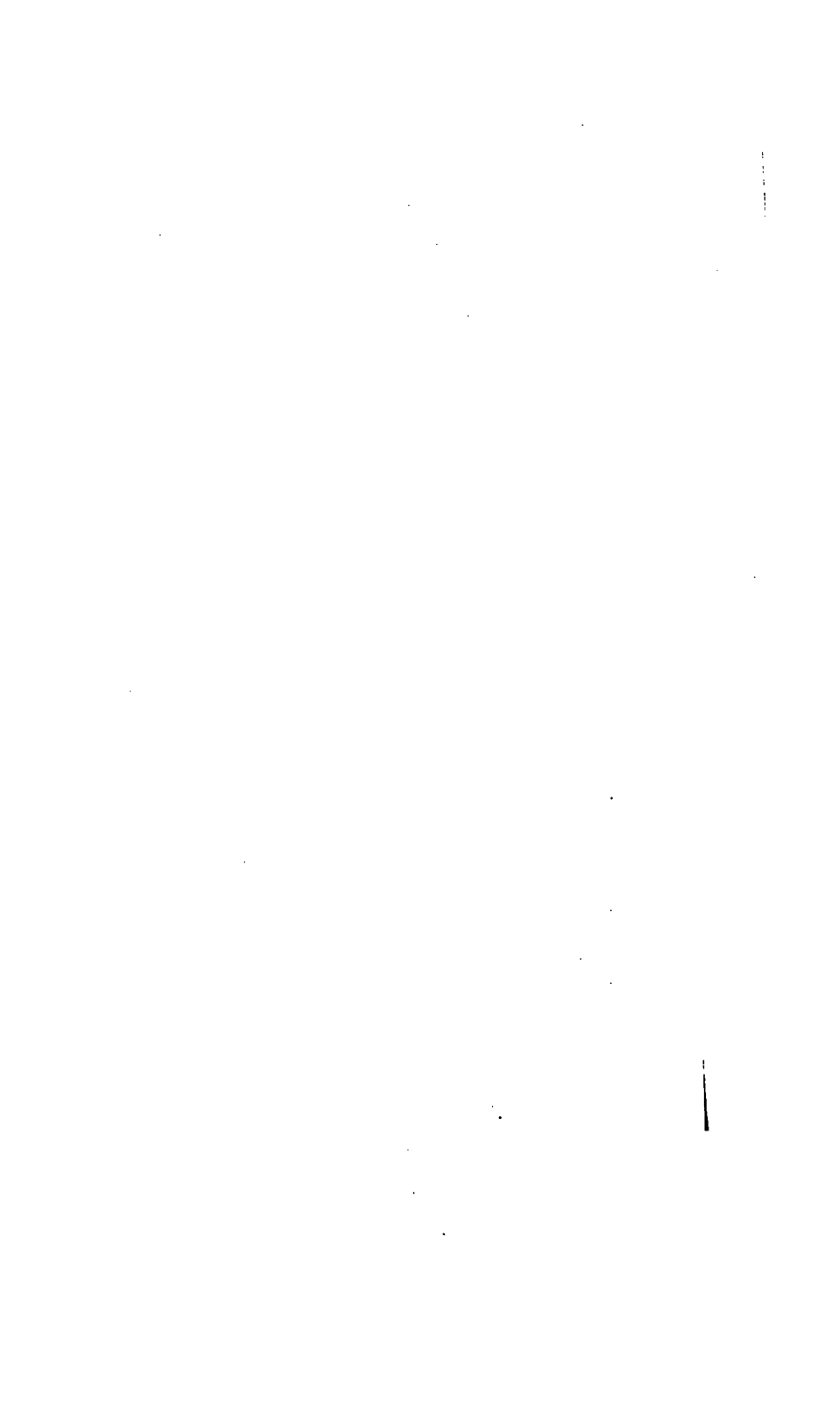
A little before 6 A.M., on the 17th, Lord Raglan and his staff arrived at a quarry in advance of the 3rd Division camp. From this spot a good general view is obtained of the English trenches, and, although under fire of the place, the enemy had too

much to do to attend to us, and consequently hardly a shot fell in the quarry all day. The Russians appeared to anticipate our opening fire, as directly it was daylight they commenced a heavy cannonade from all their batteries on our works. At twenty minutes to 7 A.M. the signal of three shells was fired from the centre French battery, and within five minutes the whole line of guns, English and French, were in action. The roaring and whistling of the shot, as they flew through the air on their course of destruction, surpassed anything ever heard before. In a few moments everything was enveloped in smoke, so that we could only sit and guess and hope we were doing well. About an hour after we commenced "pounding" a breeze sprang up and cleared the smoke away for a short time; we had then an opportunity of seeing what we had done. The first thing observed was the Malakoff tower quite silent, and the top of it all knocked to pieces. This had been done entirely by the fire from the four heavy guns (68-pounders) in our detached battery on the right of the right attack; in the course of the day it became a complete ruin. Here and there also a

gun had been silenced, but, for the most part, no great advantage had been gained by either party. The cannonade continued without ceasing for the next two hours, pretty equal on both sides ; if anything, the French appeared to fire somewhat slower, but this was accounted for by the fact that most of their guns were of brass, and consequently cannot bear quick firing after a certain time.

At a quarter to 9 A.M. the great disaster of the day took place, viz. the explosion of the principal French magazine from a Russian shell. This completely destroyed their 4th battery, knocking over 5 guns, and burying 3 other pieces of ordnance. They also lost over 100 men killed and wounded. This disaster appeared quite to paralyze the French, whilst it encouraged the Russians, who augmented their fire till they sent four shot to one from the French. The consequence was that in a short time the enemy completely silenced their 5th battery, containing 12 pieces ; it had from the commencement suffered more than any other. The French lost a large number of men in this battery, independently of the explosion. Immediately after General . . .

sent word to Lord Raglan that it was of no importance, as it was *not* one of their magazines that had blown up, but a new sort of shell (!) which the Russians had thrown into their trenches. General Rose and one of General Canrobert's aides-de-camp brought this monstrous piece of information, and appeared quite astonished when we all said we did not believe such humbug, and that we had not the smallest doubt that it was a magazine. Major Vico was very indignant that we did not give credit to the General's message ; however, half an hour later the aide-de-camp came back with an apology from General Canrobert for having misinformed Lord Raglan, and begged to say that he had received the report from the General of the trenches, and that it had since been ascertained that it was their principal magazine which had exploded,—all of which we knew perfectly well before. Soon after eleven o'clock General Rose came again to Lord Raglan from General Canrobert to say that it was quite impossible for them (the French) to continue their fire, as two batteries on their right were altogether silenced, and the one on their extreme left (Fort



POSITION OF THE TROOPS AT MIDDAY



A. Near here Sir G. Cathcart & Col^l Seymour were killed & Br Gen^l Torrens wounded — B. Sandbag Battery taken by the enemy several times, but finally held by the Guards: here the greatest slaughter took place, upwards of 1000 dead were found after the battle, within the space of a few yards — C. Two 18 pounders (guns of position) placed by order of the British General. These guns formed the battle line of the Allies, causing the enemy to retreat with

Génois) was in a very bad state, and the cannonade from the enemy since the explosion had almost ruined the remainder of their works. The Russians thus succeeded in silencing our allies; however, they had done us very little harm, for our artillerymen and sailors worked away as hard as ever, and at the very time the French "shut up" we had in a great measure silenced the Barrack and Round-Tower batteries. Those that gave us the most annoyance were the Bastion du Mât, the Garden and Redan batteries. About 1.15 p.m. we heard the first discharge from the allied fleets upon the Russian sea-forts; but we could barely distinguish them after a few moments, as the smoke completely enveloped them in a cloud; so we had no idea of the effect on either side.

At 1½ p.m. a shell from the enemy blew up an expense magazine in the French battery No. 1 (Fort Génois); fortunately it was not of so much importance as the last. They had some eight or ten killed, and from thirty to forty wounded by it. Not five minutes after this a small Russian magazine was blown up inside the town; it did not however stop

their fire in the least. But about 3 P.M. a tremendous explosion took place opposite our left attack, apparently just in rear of the Redan battery. We could see immense beams of wood and what looked like barrels thrown high into the air; the noise was prodigious, the fire for a moment ceased on both sides; our men jumped up on the parapet of the trenches and cheered. Immediately after we were pounding away harder than ever. It was some time before the enemy recovered from the effect of this terrific explosion; for upwards of half an hour they hardly fired a shot from the Redan battery; but from the Bastion du Mât and the Garden batteries they were as lively as before.

During the day I was sent into the different batteries of our two attacks, and had an opportunity of seeing the way in which the men worked the guns, and also the accuracy of the fire. The first I visited was the One-Gun battery, the most distant from the town. This was a heavy Lancaster gun: as you are aware, it is constructed on principle for heavy ordnance. Its peculiarity is in the bore being oval, and also rifled: the

ball, or rather shell, is near 18 inches in length, of conical shape, and contains an exploding charge of 12 lbs. of powder. Its range is pretty accurate at 3600 yards, rather over two miles! The object it was firing at, a Russian liner in the Man-of-War Creek, was at a distance of 3400 yards. When the Russians found this out they moved the ship a few yards further on, and in such a way that we could only bring this gun to bear on her stern, and on about three ports of her broadside. None of the shot from the ship could reach the battery with any effect, as, although they fired their heaviest guns at a great elevation, the balls only came bowling up towards us. The practice made by this Lancaster was not as successful as had been anticipated. The greatest care was taken by the two naval officers in command of the battery, which was entirely manned by sailors, in putting in the exact charge and the proper length of fuze, but nevertheless every shot went either a little too much to the right or left, or too high or too low. I think near thirty of these shells were fired before one took effect, but that one was supposed to have exploded in

her, and, if it did, must have much discomposed the crew. Considering that each of these shells cost near 25*l.*, it was rather expensive work.

I then went into the Five-Gun battery, on the extreme right of our attacks. It had done good service during the day, although we had more casualties in it than in any other. They were occasioned chiefly by the fire from two steamers in the harbour, that steamed round and round in a circle, and in that manner fired both their broadsides, and from the fact of their keeping always on the move they were very difficult to hit. Nevertheless, in the course of the day, one of them was disabled by our shot, and had to sheer off. It was most amusing to see the sailors who manned the guns in this battery; there were two reliefs of them, and, as soon as one had done its turn of duty, you heard the officer in command say, "Now then, second relief, fall in; you others can go and sky-lark." A nice place in which to sky-lark, with 68-pound shot, and 13-inch shell dropping in amongst you every moment! However, the blue-jackets did not mind, and took the permission given them

quite literally ; and in a minute ever so many of them had jumped on the parapet to see “ them b—y Rushions ;” then some fellow would cry “ Look out, shot !” and down they all jumped, and after the iron messenger had passed over, or exploded, as the case might be, they were all up again, talking at such a rate, and making the drollest remarks, giving their private opinion as to the siege, and how the place ought to be taken. I believe there was not one who did not think that the Naval Brigade would have taken the town with ease. I never saw a finer body of men, and the way they tossed about the heaviest guns was the best proof of the strength and power they possessed. The Royal Artillery worked admirably, going through the regulation motions in serving the guns as if they were being inspected at Woolwich. They suffered less than the sailors, as they were not so foolhardy in exposing themselves unnecessarily ; among the sailors many a fine fellow has lost his life, from his anxiety to see what effect the shot just fired would take, and in so doing exposed himself to be hit by the enemy.

A little before 4 P.M. the only explosion in the

English lines took place. An ammunition waggon having broken down, some of the powder-boxes had been left a little way in rear of our right attack, and these were blown up by a shell from the enemy; fortunately no one was hurt, although there was a large covering party stationed a few yards from it. Some minutes later we blew up a considerable magazine in rear of the Russian Tower battery, which completely silenced the guns in its neighbourhood for some time.

At 4.30 P.M. the Russians made a sortie on the French extreme left. It consisted of some 200 men, who advanced rapidly in a most gallant manner, drove in the French pickets, and got up to within 50 or 60 yards of their batteries. They were met with so destructive a fire from the guard of the trenches, that they were forced to retire as quickly as they advanced, leaving behind them many killed and wounded. The allied fleets withdrew from before the batteries of the town, and returned to their former anchorage, about 5½ P.M. Soon after, as it began to get dusk, the firing on both sides sensibly diminished. Lord Raglan then re-

turned to head-quarters, and sent orders to our batteries that they were only to answer the fire from the enemy, gun for gun, during the night. General Canrobert sent to Lord Raglan to say that he hoped without doubt to open fire again on the Russian works the following morning. Nobody, however, believed him !

Thus concluded our first day's bombardment, of which the English may be justly proud. Our Engineers, especially, deserve much credit for the efficient manner in which the trenches have been constructed, and the good cover they afford. To our artillery also (naval and military) great praise is due for the admirable fire kept up during the whole day, under disadvantageous circumstances. In other respects the day was lost to the Allies, for during the night the enemy repaired, to a great extent, the damage our fire had done, and indeed succeeded in opening a fresh battery in the garden on the west side of the Man-of-War Creek. The disasters met with by the French are to be attributed to the inefficient manner in which they have constructed their trenches. An officer of the Corps

du Génie, who had been through both of our attacks, told me he was struck with the solidity of our works in comparison with those of the French, and especially the strength with which we constructed our magazines. In their trenches many of the magazines are actually placed in the parapet—a plan which they will not adopt after this day's experience. An artillery officer told me he had calculated that the English and Russians had fired during this day upwards of 20,000 shot and shell at one another. In spite of this our losses have not been as severe as would be naturally expected ; as far as I can ascertain they were as follows :—In the trenches, 6 killed and 17 wounded ; with the covering parties, 27 killed and 94 wounded ; total, 144 casualties. The French loss is stated as about 130 killed and 370 wounded ; total 500 casualties ; of these near two-thirds were caused by the explosions.

This morning, as had been anticipated, the Russians opened their fire from almost every gun opposed to the English attacks ; we were, however, quite prepared for them, having made good the damage done to our works yesterday. In guns we are weaker ; one

of our "Lancasters" having burst and two 32-pounders being disabled by the fire from the town. They hope to replace them during the day, and also to get in some of our 10-inch mortars, which as yet have not fired once. As had also been anticipated, General Canrobert sent to Lord Raglan to say that they found it would be impossible for them to open fire any part of the day, but would without fail recommence to-morrow ; this, of course, was doubted by us all. A pleasant look-out to have to bear the entire fire of the Russians until our allies chose to open again.

This morning Lord Raglan received a letter from Sir Edmund Lyons, giving him an account of the performances of the allied fleets yesterday. As far as I can ascertain from some naval officers concerned in the matter, it appears that on the evening of the 16th instant a council of war was held by the admirals of both fleets as to the best mode of co-operating with the land forces on the following day. It was then agreed that the English fleet should engage chiefly the forts on the northern side of the harbour, whilst the French fleet, together with two

Turkish liners, should attack the sea defences of Sevastopol on the southern side the harbour. The ships were to go into action as soon after 10 A.M. as possible. There is a shoal running from Cape Constantine (which is half a mile north of the fort of that name) in a south-westerly direction for a distance of a mile and a half; this shoal crosses the direct entrance of the harbour, over which there is only eight fathom water. Consequently it is hardly safe for line-of-battle ships to cross, except in the very calmest weather. But there is a passage somewhat nearer the land where the depth of water increases to thirteen fathom. It was settled that the ships should enter by this passage, and take up their positions inside the above-mentioned shoal, and place themselves as near as practicable to the enemy's works. It was calculated that the majority of the ships would be within 1000 yards of the town. Next morning, however (17th instant), Admiral Hamelin sent to Admiral Dundas to say that, on thinking it over, he did not like the plan agreed on the previous evening of going inside the shoal, as there would be considerable danger of the ships getting on shore. He proposed, therefore, that

fleets should still take up the same relative position, only outside the shoal, at an average distance of 1800 to 2000 yards from the forts, and also that they should direct their fire chiefly against the enemy's ships in harbour, as more likely to affect them than battering stone walls. At first Admiral Dundas would not hear of this proposal, but the French Admiral then said that he would *not* carry out the first plan, and that, if Admiral Dundas did not agree to the one then proposed, he should think it necessary to send to General Canrobert to inform him that the allied Admirals could not come to an understanding on the mode of attack, and therefore he could not promise him the co-operation of the fleets. It is said that Sir Edmund Lyons was very indignant at the conduct of Admiral Hamelin, and did all in his power to persuade Admiral Dundas not to give in, but to insist on the old propositions being carried out. Admiral Dundas, fearing the responsibility of refusing to agree with Admiral Hamelin, finally settled to follow his plans.

All this consultation took up much valuable time and caused great delay, so that, instead of going into action by ten A.M., they

did not commence their fire till near one P.M. Each sailing line-of-battle ship had a steamer lashed alongside, so they could shift their position without having to rely on their sailing powers. The whole opened with a tremendous roar of artillery; but the Russians replied with almost as heavy a fire. Sir Edmund Lyons obtained leave to go in as close as he liked to Fort Constantine, and take with him some other liners. Accordingly he brought the "Agamemnon" within 700 yards of the shore, and then opened fire; he was supported by the "Sanspareil," "Queen," and "Albion," and, after a time, the "London" also. The enemy fired a great quantity of red-hot shot, which caused our ships considerable annoyance, especially the five just mentioned. The "Queen" and "Albion" were both badly on fire, and had to retire for some time out of action. The "Agamemnon" and "London" were also on fire more than once, but without doing them much damage. The "Agamemnon" never changed her position from the moment she came into action, with only three or four feet of water under her keel, till past five P.M., when the ships were

signalled to come out, and during this time she fired no less than 3500 shot and shell. Fort Constantine was several times silenced and greatly damaged ; and it is said Sir Edmund Lyons thought that, if the old plan had been carried out, of having all the ships nearer, that fort would have been completely destroyed. The rest of the English, and the whole of the French fleet, with the exception of the "Napoleon," were 1800 to 2200 yards off from the enemy's batteries ; and at that great distance the shot told with but little effect against the stone walls of the forts. Altogether I fear the naval attack was even a greater failure than that by land. I think the Russians have good reason to be proud of this their first successful check against a hitherto victorious enemy. Strange to say, the casualties on board the ships the farthest outside were greater than those close in, probably from the difficulty of depressing the guns of Fort Constantine sufficiently to bear on the ships' hulls. The loss in our fleet was 47 killed, 234 wounded, total 281 casualties. The losses in the French fleet were, as far as I can ascertain, 29 killed, 180 wounded ; total 209 casualties.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
October 23rd, 1854.

We are still firing away as hard and loud as ever, and have made considerable impression on the enemy's works. Their fire is much slower and far less accurate than it was. We have had a good many deserters from the town since the commencement of our bombardment on the 17th instant. These men all represent the state of things to be very bad in Sevastopol. The losses among the troops have been great, and the sailors of the fleet, who have been employed for the most part in the batteries opposed to the English attacks, have suffered dreadfully. Of course it is difficult to know how much to believe from deserters, especially anything connected with numbers, but they all put their losses at from 3000 to 4000 since the morning of the 17th. We had no assistance from the French batteries till the 20th, but since then they have improved their fire very much, and are now pounding away with considerable rapidity. They have knocked about the Bastion du Mât, and nearly silenced it; but the Russians appear to be constructing a very formidable earthwork in its rear, which it is to be feared will

cause us much trouble and annoyance. During the night of the 20th and 21st the Russians made a sortie on the right of the French trenches. Our allies were taken by surprise, and consequently the enemy got into one of their batteries and spiked their mortars; the French rallied immediately, driving the Russians back, killing six, and taking four wounded men prisoners, one of whom, a young officer, died within twelve hours of his wound. The French state their loss as only seven men wounded.

Yesterday (22nd) Lord Dunkellin was taken prisoner by a party of Cossacks. About 4½ A.M. he had to go in command of a working party of the Guards down into our right attack, to repair some damage done to part of a battery from the fire of the place. His party arrived at the engineer park after the time ordered, and consequently too late to go with the morning relief; they, therefore, hurried on to overtake the rest. Somehow in the twilight they mistook the ravine and went down a wrong one, when, suddenly coming on a picket and receiving neither challenge nor reply to theirs, it was thought something was wrong, so Lord Dunkellin halted the party and advanced alone. His men waited for a few minutes and then saw the picket moving away;

they still remained, but, finding Lord Dunkellin did not return, concluded that he had been made prisoner, and therefore marched back to the camp. No blame is to be attached to the men, as, being a working party they were unarmed, and therefore could not attack an armed picket, even should it consist but of a third of their number. Lord Dunkellin is the first English officer captured by the enemy; he is a good deal censured for being late, and thus causing the service to be put to inconvenience.

Our attacks have been and are being greatly strengthened both with regard to the number and weight of the pieces of ordnance, and the parapets are made higher and thicker. We have four more 68-pounders in position, and several 32-pounders have been put in battery in place of damaged 24-pounders. We are also constructing a battery on a spur running out into the ravine between the English and French trenches, which will fire up the Man-of-War Creek, and it is expected will cause the Russians to move their ships. It will also command a bridge of boats across the creek, which we hope to destroy. This battery is to be armed with two 32-pounders and a 10-inch mortar. The enemy

having also a heavy gun up on the heights of Inkermann, close to the ruins, which fired occasional shot into our 2nd^d Division, a battery for two guns was ordered to be constructed in advance of the 2nd Division, so as to silence this large piece. This battery was finished yesterday morning, and two 18-pounders placed in it. They opened on the enemy's gun at the ruins, and very soon made them withdraw it out of our sight and fill up the embrasure ; so we shall not probably again be annoyed by it.

Since I wrote on the 18th we have lost a most valuable officer, Colonel Alexander. He commanded the Royal Engineers since the death of General Tylden, the morning after Alma. Colonel Alexander died of apoplexy on the 19th instant. He is succeeded by Captain Gordon, an officer of great talent and wonderful coolness under fire ; he is, moreover, what I fear is rarely to be found in the army, a truly religious man. The Naval Brigade have suffered more in the trenches than the Royal Artillery. They have lost two young officers, who were most highly spoken of, Lieutenants Ruthven and Greathead ; I mention them in particular, as they displayed so much courage and intelligence in their respective batteries.

Captain Peel, of H.M.S. "Diamond," has also distinguished himself greatly for his marvellous *sang froid* in action. The other day a shell fell close to a gun which he was laying, so he took the shell and lifted it over the parapet; it exploded as it left his hands without doing any damage, whereas, had it burst on the spot where it fell, probably several men would have been wounded, if not killed. It is reported that on Friday last the port-admiral in Sevastopol, Admiral Korniloff, died of his wounds received on the 17th. The deserters say that he had more to do with the defence of Sevastopol on the land side than any one else, although not in actual command of the batteries. He was very civil to F—— and me when we were in Nicholief three years ago. He spoke English perfectly, and had been in London for some months during the time the "Vladimir" steam frigate was being built at Blackwall, as the Emperor's yacht for the Black Sea.

You hear every day of heroic acts of bravery by the soldiers: one I call to mind. A few days ago a private of the 33rd (Duke of Wellington's regiment) was surprised and made prisoner by two Russian soldiers when an advanced sentry. One of these worthies took possession of his musket.

and the other of his pouch, and marched him between them towards Sevastopol. The Englishman kept wary watch, and when he fancied his captors off their guard sprang on the one who carried his musket, seized it, and shot dead the other of his foes, who carried the pouch as well as his own arms and accoutrements. Meanwhile the Russian from whom our fellow had taken his own musket, and who had then fallen to the ground, when rising from his recumbent position, fired, missed, and finally had his brains knocked out by the butt end of the Englishman's musket; after which the man coolly proceeded to take off the Russian accoutrements, &c., with which he returned laden to the post where he had been surprised, fired at by the Russian sentries, and received with loud cheers by our own pickets.

The Russians made a strong reconnaissance of our position before Balaklava on the 21st; indeed there have been several alarms at night as well as during the day. This harasses the cavalry not a little, as after an alarm they are kept saddled for hours. The horses begin to show work, and a great number are not fit for duty and look the ghosts of their former selves. The redoubts before Balaklava are so far

finished as to be each garrisoned by some four companies of Turks, with eight or nine iron guns of position. These works are not strong, yet are capable of holding in check any sudden attack on Balaklava, if properly defended. I am sorry to say these Turks don't seem worth much; they are very idle, and there is the greatest difficulty in getting them to work, even though it is for their own security and comfort. But we must hope for the best.

I have just heard from a deserter the names of the Russian ships sunk across the entrance of the harbour of Sevastopol. They are the "Holy Trinity," 120 guns; "Rosteslaff," 84 guns; "Zogoodich," 84 guns; "Oriel," 80 guns; "Silistria," 80 guns; "Sisiopoli," 40 guns; and the "Koolevche," 40 guns: total, five ships of the line and two frigates, with 528 guns. These ships, with the exception of one of the frigates, had all their guns and stores on board and their rigging standing; this last has been cut away since the ships were sunk; a part of the hulls of the largest ships are visible just above water, and a few feet of masts are occasionally to be observed. Since we opened fire it is reported that two war-steamers have been disabled, and one obliged to be sunk.

CHAPTER VII.

Position of the Allies, Oct. 25th, Balaklava — Eastern heights — Field-work, Kadikoi — Turkish redoubts — Enemy appears — Captain Maude — Lord Raglan and General Canrobert — Flight of the Turks — Capture of redoubts by the enemy — “Ship, Johnny, ship” — 93rd regiment — Russian cavalry turn tail — Charge of heavy brigade — Lord Cardigan’s respect for orders — Captain Nolan and Lord Lucan — Charge of light brigade — Masterly retreat of the General — Colonel Shewell — Chasseurs d’Afrique — Casualties — Russians retire — Reinforcements for Balaklava — Sir De Lacy Evans’s action, Oct. 26th — Russian rejoicings in Sevastopol — Flag of truce — “*Nous sommes Chrétiens*” — English prisoners — Progress of siege — Russian reinforcements — “Sanspareil” — English extreme right — Cold nights — Information from Russian deserters — Zouaves and horseflesh — Russian cannonade — Illness of Sir De Lacy Evans — Movement of light cavalry.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
October 28th, 1854.

It is with sorrow that I sit down to write to you, as I shall have to tell of the deaths of so many brother officers who fell in the action of the 25th before Balaklava—for the most part uselessly sacrificed, as the results do not at all make up for our loss. But I should first endeavour to give you some sort of idea of the position occupied by the Allies on the morning that the battle took place. Ever since the

occupation of Balaklava we have been strengthening the position—already strong by nature, but still quite open to the attack of an enterprising enemy. As I before mentioned, the harbour is almost surrounded by hills of great height, the sides of which rise with perpendicular abruptness from its quiet waters. The hills on the west of the harbour continue in succession until they merge, near the monastery of St. George, into the high plateau before Sevastopol. On the east of the harbour the heights are the commencement of a long range of hills—indeed one may call them mountains—that extend all along the southern coast of the Crimea. Fortunately for the strength of our position, the first hill is almost cut off from the remainder by a deep ravine which runs up from the plain before Balaklava towards the sea, and is only connected by a narrow ridge a few yards in breadth. One of the first works done after our arrival was to construct a battery that would sweep this ridge, and thus render it impracticable for any body of the enemy to force, except at an enormous sacrifice of life. From this point all the way down to the plain a parapet, with occasional small batteries, had been constructed. In these works are several 32-pounder iron howitzers,

which for the most part are manned by marine artillery, as the entire heights have up to this time been occupied by 1100 of the Royal Marines from the fleet—as fine a body of men as you could wish to see. In front of Balaklava, at the distance of rather more than a mile, near the village of Kadikoi, a considerable work has been constructed, armed with several guns of position, but being unconnected with the heights on either side is not of any great strength, as it is liable to be turned on both flanks. In a short time these defects will be remedied, but up to the present moment our men have been overworked; indeed I think it is quite wonderful the amount of labour that they have accomplished during the short time we have been here. To the west from the last-mentioned work (in front of the head of the harbour) are two small batteries on elevated ground on the road to Sevastopol, and after following this for a mile you come to the base of the great plateau on which the allied armies are encamped. The edge of this plateau forms the northern side of the valley of Balaklava, and continues in a north-easterly direction till it reaches the valley of the Tchernaya, when, turning sharply round to the west, it passes the heights of Inkermann, and terminates at the head of

the harbour of Sevastopol. From the southern extremity of this same valley (Balaklava), commencing at the village of Kamara, winds (literally so) a ridge of hills, coming to an abrupt ending in the tableland in the neighbourhood of M'Kenzie's Farm. I before told you that we have been for some time constructing a series of redoubts across the above-mentioned valley, about two miles north of the town of Balaklava. The most easterly of these works is situated on Canrobert's Hill; it is that of the greatest importance, as from its elevated position it overlooks the village of Kamara, and commands the two nearest of the chain of redoubts. Such are the works constructed for the defence of our base of operations.

Early on the morning of the 25th instant it was discovered from the most advanced of the Turkish redoubts that large bodies of troops were marching towards Balaklava. Lord Lucan was in the redoubt at the moment, and lost no time in ordering the cavalry division under arms; an affair of only a few moments, as the cavalry are always ready to turn out an hour before daylight. Information of this was sent to Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Raglan. In the mean time Barker's

battery (nine pounders) and Maude's troop (six pounders) of horse artillery were ordered up, supported by the Greys. Our guns opened a smart fire on the enemy, but, the distance being too great, they did not tell with much effect. The Russians replied with several batteries of heavier calibre than ours, and we therefore got rather the worst of it; added to which, for some reason that I have not yet heard explained, our artillery had only a few rounds per gun, instead of the usual quantity of ammunition. I am sorry to say that we have lost the services of Captain Maude. He was severely wounded by a shell from the enemy, which burst as it struck his horse on the shoulder.

On receiving the report of the Russian advance, Sir Colin Campbell immediately ordered out all the available troops under his command. The batteries were all manned, and the Royal Marines lined the parapets on the eastern heights of the town. Sir Colin caused the 93rd Highlanders, and a company from the Invalid Battalion (mustering about 100 men), to be placed in line midway between the defences of the place and the line of redoubts, in a position where they could best repulse any attempt on the part of the enemy to advance on the town.

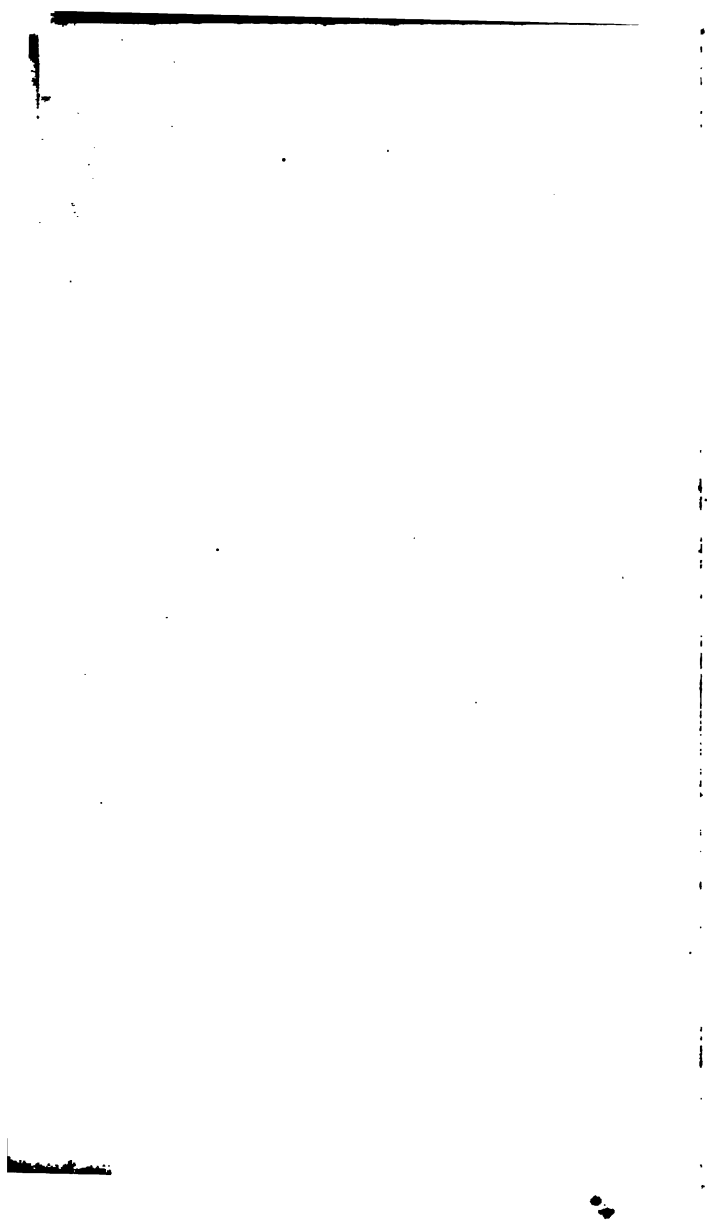
Shortly before 8 A.M. (on the 25th) Lord Raglan received intelligence from Lord Lucan (commanding the cavalry) that the enemy were advancing in force towards Balaklava. Lord Raglan and his staff immediately proceeded to the edge of the plateau, where the whole of the valley could be overlooked, as well as the port and town of Balaklava. On arriving at this point we saw strong bodies of troops advancing, some along the valley (mostly cavalry and artillery), and others appearing over the ridge, at the end of which is the village of Kamara. On seeing the force in which the enemy were, Lord Raglan sent an aide-de-camp to order the 1st and 4th divisions down into the valley, to reinforce the troops under the command of Sir Colin Campbell. Information was also sent to General Canrobert, who immediately ordered the division of General Bosquet to be got under arms, and came himself with his staff shortly after and joined Lord Raglan.

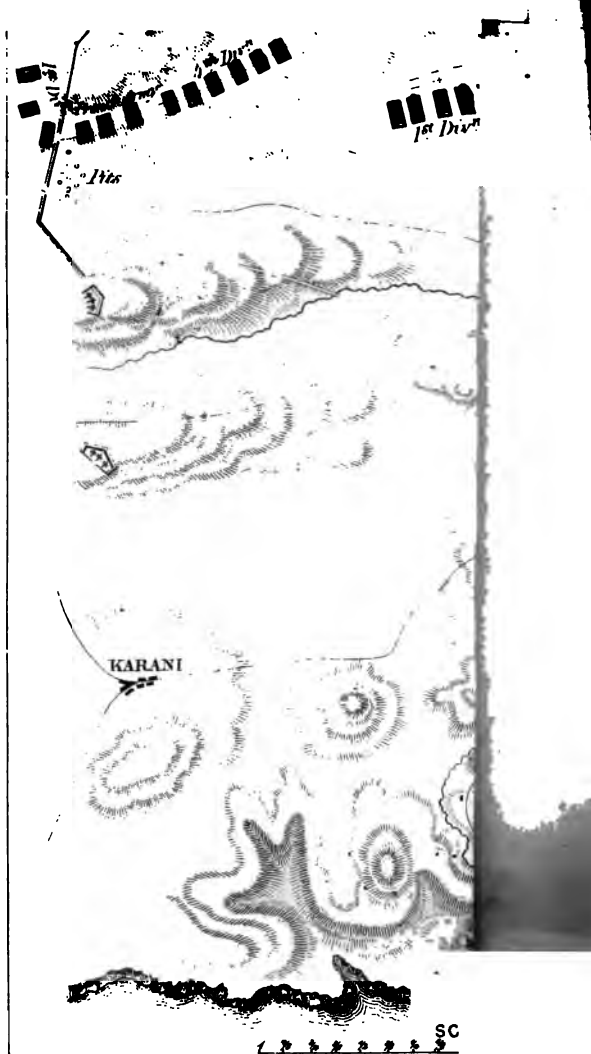
A few moments after our arrival the Russians established a battery of field artillery close to the village of Kamara, and opened fire on No. 1 Redoubt (that on Canrobert's Hill) ; at the same time a column of infantry (some 1200 men) advanced up

to it, the Turkish garrison firing on them in a desultory sort of way with small arms, but without attempting to serve their heavy guns. To our intense disgust, in a few moments we saw a little stream of men issue from the rear of the redoubt, and run down the hill-side towards our lines; these were immediately followed by a regular cloud of fugitives, and the Russians entered the fort to find it garrisoned by dead and wounded men. In this work they captured four iron guns of position which we had lent the Turks. A man of the Royal Artillery had been put in charge of these guns, and did his duty well by spiking them when he found they were to be abandoned to the enemy. They were consequently rendered useless for the time. Thus in a few moments we lost, through the confounded cowardice of the Turks, the key of our advance line of defence. The Russians poured into the work, and very speedily got some field-pieces up to it, and then opened fire on the next redoubt. The garrison of No. 2 redoubt, when they saw the Russians enter No. 1, immediately bethought themselves of flight, instead of attempting to hold it for a moment against the enemy, and, to the indignation of all, we saw these miserables coming out of the

work laden with their baggage, &c., and deliberately marching to the rear. The Russians opened on them from the field-guns they had in No. 1 redoubt, and caused them severe loss. Directly the Turks found they were being fired into, they dispersed like a flock of sheep, and ran across the valley, numbers throwing away their arms and accoutrements to facilitate their flight. So much for our Turkish allies. Many were the curses loud and deep that were heaped on their devoted heads.

During this time the Russians had been advancing, and we now began to guess pretty accurately as to their numbers. They were variously stated at from 20,000 to 30,000 men. Of these about 2000 were artillery, 6000 cavalry, and the remainder infantry. Large parties of the enemy's cavalry, consisting chiefly of the Cossacks of the Don, were let loose on the runaway Turks. The yells of these wild horsemen could be distinctly heard where we were as they galloped after these unhappy Moslems, numbers of whom were killed by their lances. Of course, directly the Turks abandoned No. 2 redoubt, the enemy sent a body of infantry with two or three field-pieces to occupy it and fire into No. 3 redoubt. They also got possession of three more iron guns of position.





12-pounders), but which had been spiked by the English artilleryman in charge. A certain number of the Turks of No. 2 redoubt, when they evacuated the work, ran over to No. 3, and thus strengthened its garrison. However, these, after firing a few shots, were seized with a panic, and consequently got into confusion, and, in the course of a few moments, we had the annoyance of seeing No. 3 redoubt evacuated in the same manner as the others, its garrison for the most part running towards Balaklava, though some few ran into No. 4 redoubt. The enemy directly occupied the vacated fort, and thus captured two more of our guns. Sir Colin Campbell, who was with the 93rd regiment and invalids, managed to check a certain number of the fugitives, and formed them up on each flank of the English troops. Some 300 might have been thus disposed, but the greater number continued on till they arrived inside our works at Balaklava.

The enemy's cavalry now began to advance over the rising ground between Nos. 2 and 3 redoubts, formed up in a heavy column. These divided in two parts, the larger portion remaining in reserve, and the other (a body of Cossacks and Hussars of 500 horses) moved across the valley in the direction of

the English and Turkish troops in line, under the command of Sir Colin Campbell. The enemy advanced at a good pace, but in anything but a confident manner, as there was much *tailing* and flying out of the ranks on each side. On they rode, and, when about 600 yards off, the Turks on our flank (without orders) fired a harmless volley, then turned, and ran as fast as their legs could carry them towards the town, some calling out, "*Ship, Johnny, ship!*" alluding to the vessels in harbour. The advancing Russians, seeing this cowardly behaviour on the part of our allies, gained fresh courage themselves, and came on with a rush, yelling in a very barbarous manner, and which on badly disciplined troops would probably have had an intimidating effect. The British soldier, however, only laughed at their yells, and, when they had come a hundred yards nearer, gave them their first volley, which materially checked both their pace and noise. Volley number two then rung out, as clear and compact as at an ordinary field-day. This was enough for the Ruskies; we immediately had the satisfaction of seeing them wheel round to their left, and gallop off towards Canrobert's Hill in great confusion and fear, marking their course by the killed and wounded that dropped

from the saddle, and the number of riderless horses galloping about in all directions.

In the mean time the Russians had been collecting their forces on the most commanding ground. A large mass of infantry was posted close to the village of Kamara; some were also hid from our view, between it and Canrobert's Hill; whilst opposite, extending from there to the Tchernaya river, were several battalions of infantry, three or four batteries, and another large body of Cossacks; and on some high ground close to the river, projecting into the valley, was a battery of eight guns, supported by a regiment of infantry. On seeing these preparations on the part of the Russians, Lord Raglan ordered the brigade of light cavalry to take post on the ridge, just at the foot of the plateau where we were standing. From this point they could watch and take advantage of any movement on the part of the enemy. Lord Raglan's object was to place the cavalry in a position of safety, and at the same time prevent a general action coming on until the arrival of the 1st and 4th Divisions. I should mention that Barker's battery of artillery, placed near Sir Colin Campbell and his infantry, had done good service against the flying

enemy, when they retired before the volleys of the Highlanders. The troop of horse artillery attached to the division of cavalry was stationed near the heavy brigade, under cover of a vineyard, ready to come into action at a moment's notice. The body of Russian cavalry that remained on the ridge between the two redoubts last captured had of course witnessed the defeat of their comrades. They now turned their attention to the English cavalry, and, seeing a portion of the heavy brigade without support, at once descended, and advanced at a rapid pace against them. Directly the Turkish garrison of No. 4 redoubt saw the enemy's cavalry in movement, fancying that it was to cut them off, they rushed out of the work towards our troops. The enemy, seeing this, sent a body of infantry to occupy it. Fortunately there were no guns in this work. Brigadier-General Scarlett, by Lord Lucan's order, immediately placed the Greys and Enniskillens in line, sent to the 5th Dragoon Guards to support them on the right, and to the Royals and 4th Dragoon Guards to attack on the left. The Russian cavalry, consisting of hussars and dragoons in front, backed up by a host of Cossacks, mustering in all some 3000 sabres, came on, gradually slackening

their pace as they saw the English cavalry advance towards them in such perfect order and confidence. The pace of the Russians got slower and slower the nearer we approached ; and, at the moment the two bodies met, the Russians were almost at a halt. The front line of the English cavalry was not able to meet the enemy at the pace that they wished, as they had to cross through what had been the camp of the light cavalry, and the ground was strewn with articles that had not as yet been removed, and consequently impeded the rapid movement of these two regiments. Nevertheless, our fellows went in with a will that told with striking effect on the enemy, and, after a moment's pause, we saw them disappear in the midst of the mass of Russians. For a second we were all anxious for the result ; but a minute later and the 4th Dragoon Guards and Royals charged the enemy on the one flank, whilst the 5th Dragoon Guards attacked them on the other. The Russians made a momentary stand, and then you saw the entire body of men and horses move back a little ; and after a minute or two the whole make a rush to the rear, our dragoons cutting and slashing about them with an energy and force that must have been deeply felt on the heads and

shoulders of the fugitive Russians. In this encounter our loss was scarce twenty casualties, whereas that of the enemy was put at over two hundred. When Lord Raglan saw the successful manner in which the charge had been made, he sent down an officer of his staff to say, "Well done!" to General Scarlett. It is much to be regretted that the brigade of light cavalry, under command of Lord Cardigan, did not attack the enemy in flank and rear when they first met the heavy brigade, as the defeat would have been more complete, and numbers of prisoners might have been taken. Captain Morris, who commanded the 17th Lancers, pointed out to Lord Cardigan the opportunity that offered of charging the enemy; but the Earl said he was placed in that particular spot, and should not move without orders. In vain Captain Morris begged to be allowed to charge with his regiment alone. Lord Cardigan would not give his permission. The heavy brigade were unable to pursue the Russian cavalry for any distance, as they came under the fire from the redoubts captured by the enemy; indeed, as it was, we lost three or four men from the effects of their shot.

Shortly after this successful charge a portion of the Turks who had bolted were led back by their

Pasha into redoubt No. 5, which they had abandoned just before, and which had never been occupied by the enemy. The Russians were evidently very much cowed by the reverse their cavalry had met with, and all their forces were somewhat drawn back, and placed closer together. About 10 A.M. the 1st Division began to descend into the valley from the plateau. Directly the Russians saw this reinforcement arrive they abandoned Nos. 3 and 4 redoubts, blowing up the small magazines they contained. The 1st Division marched down into the valley, and was placed in two lines, *en échelon*, their right resting on the ground Sir Colin occupied with his infantry, and their left near No. 3 redoubt. The brigade of Guards formed the first line, and the Highland brigade the second. The enemy fired a few rounds of shot and shell from Canrobert Hill at these troops, but the distance was too great for them to take effect. Half an hour after the arrival of the 1st, the 4th Division made its appearance; it was placed in column on the slope of the ridge between Nos. 3 and 5 redoubts. At 11 A.M. General Canrobert and his staff came up to Lord Raglan, and about the same time two squadrons of the Chasseurs d'Afrique moved up to the left of the Turkish

redoubts, and formed up across the Woronzoff road. The 1st Division of the French army had been ordered to join the English in the valley, together with two batteries of artillery; these arrived after a time, and were placed in reserve, under the heights on which Lord Raglan and General Canrobert had stationed themselves. The enemy still continued to place his troops on the defensive. They brought a battery of eight guns, and posted it at right angles to the chain of redoubts, between No. 2 and the Tchernaya river, so as to sweep the valley. On each flank they had also artillery; on that nearest the river eight guns, and on the opposite side, close under No. 2 redoubt, a battery of six. Behind all this artillery they had withdrawn their cavalry, in support of which were great masses of infantry.

It now becomes my task to relate to you the sad catastrophe of the day. If gallantry, courage, and daring can compensate in any way for the noble lives that were then sacrificed, we have every reason to be proud of the chivalry displayed. Indeed, I question whether we can look upon it as a disaster, when we think of the impression that noble little band must have made upon our foes. Although the result was not that of victory, still it will be remembered in

future days as one of the brightest actions of British daring, and as a brilliant proof of how little our troops consider the odds opposed to them when "duty points the way." But to return to the action. It was now shortly after 11 A.M.: Lord Raglan, from the place that he occupied, commanding as it did so extensive a view of the whole of the valley of Balaklava and the position of the Russian forces, thought that he perceived a retrograde movement on the part of the enemy. Upon a closer examination with our glasses it appeared pretty evident that the Russians were removing our guns which they had captured in the forts. Lord Raglan, wishing, therefore, to prevent their object being attained, sent an order to Lord Lucan, to the effect that the cavalry were to advance and take any opportunity that might offer to recapture the heights. He also ordered the 4th Division, under the command of Sir G. Cathcart, to support them. However, this opportunity did not occur, according to the view that Lord Lucan took of the matter. A pause of over half an hour ensued, at the lapse of which time Lord Raglan, still under the impression—whether erroneous or not it is impossible to say—that the Russians intended **immediately** to retire and take with them our guns,

sent another order to Lord Lucan. The order was written by General Airey, the Quartermaster-General, who had been constantly at Lord Raglan's side during the day. It was in the following terms: "Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns. Troop of horse artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left. Immediate." This order was intrusted to Captain Nolan, aide-de-camp to General Airey, a cavalry officer of great experience. Previous to his departure he received careful instructions both from Lord Raglan and the Quartermaster-General. But before going any further, I must say that the following is not meant in any way to disparage Captain Nolan. He was a man for whom I had a personal regard, and whose opinion, in matters of his profession, was generally respected. Poor fellow! he is now no more; and perhaps the best tribute we can pay to his memory would be to say that he died from an act of over-daring and courage. When the order was delivered to Lord Lucan he demurred for a moment putting it into execution, and asked Nolan what it was that he was to attack, who replied, *I am told*, "There, my Lord, is our enemy, and there are

our guns ;” at the same time pointing down the valley to where the enemy had the battery of eight guns, placed as I before mentioned, with artillery also on each flank. Captain Nolan appears to have totally misunderstood the instructions he had just before received : “ the guns ” in the written order, of course, alluded to those the enemy had captured in the redoubts, and which it was thought they were carrying away ; and the direction which he (Nolan) pointed out to Lord Lucan was quite contrary to that intended by Lord Raglan. His manner also was scarcely that in which an aide-de-camp ought to address a general officer, and for which there was no reason or excuse. Lord Lucan appears to have considered that he was bound to charge the enemy, therefore made arrangements to carry out the object which he supposed Lord Raglan had in view. He consequently communicated with Lord Cardigan, and desired him to form the light brigade into two lines. Lord Cardigan remonstrated, and urged the uselessness of making such an attack ; but Lord Lucan replied that his orders were imperative from the Commander-in-Chief, or words to that effect. The fatal order to advance was then given, and, to the horror of all of us on the heights above, we saw

our handful of light cavalry advance down towards the Russian batteries. We all saw at once that a lamentable mistake had been made—by whose fault it was then impossible to say. Lord Raglan sent down two of his staff to ascertain the cause of all this, so little was it his intention that an attack of this nature should take place.

But to follow the fortunes of the light brigade. It consisted of scarce 700 horses, although composed of no less than five different regiments. In the first line were four squadrons of the 13th Light Dragoons and 17th Lancers ; in the second were four squadrons of the 4th Light Dragoons and 11th Hussars. Again, in their rear was one squadron of the 8th Hussars, as a sort of reserve. As they started into a trot, poor Nolan galloped some way in front of the brigade, waving his sword and encouraging the men by voice and gesture. Before, however, they had gone any distance, the enemy's guns opened on them at long range. Nolan was the first man killed ; some grape-shot hit him in the chest : his horse turned and carried him to the rear through our advancing squadrons. His screams were heard far above the din of battle, and he fell dead from his saddle near the spot where the order had been given for the charge. The pace of

our cavalry increased every moment, until they went thundering along the valley, making the ground tremble beneath them. The awful slaughter that was going on, from the fire the enemy poured into them, apparently did not check their career. On they went, headlong to the death, disregarding aught but the object of their attack. At length they arrived at the guns, their numbers sadly thinned, but the few that remained made fearful havoc amongst the enemy's artillerymen. Scarce a man escaped, except those who crept under their gun-carriages, and thus put themselves out of the reach of our men's swords. This was the moment when a general was most required, but unfortunately Lord Cardigan was not then present. On coming up to the battery (as he afterwards himself described it), a gun was fired close to him, and for a moment he thought his leg was gone. Such was not the case, as he remained unhurt; however, his horse took fright—swerved round—and galloped off with him to the rear, passing on the way by the 4th Light Dragoons and 8th Hussars before those regiments got up to the battery. You may remember I mentioned that the enemy's cavalry were posted in rear of their guns. On our

advance some of their squadrons had been withdrawn to the higher ground on each flank, the infantry remaining in its old position, and these our cavalry had next to attack. However, the Russians did not wait to be assailed, but, on the approach of our men, a very large majority ran back to some brushwood behind them, and where, of course, our men could not follow. At this time the whole of our squadrons that composed the first, and the greater portion of the second line, were in considerable disorder. No blame was to be attached to any one for this, as so many officers had been either killed, wounded, or had had their horses shot under them. The amazing number of riderless horses that were galloping about, many of them wounded and wild with fright, added also to the general confusion. Some of our cavalry chased the Russians almost down to the Tchernaya river, but then, of course, had to return on their exhausted horses to rejoin the brigade.

As soon as the Russians saw that all our squadrons had arrived at the guns, they sent a large body of Cossacks of the Don to cut off our retreat. This was first observed by one of the troop-officers of the 8th Hussars (which regiment, as you may remember, was

in rear of the brigade), who immediately rode up and informed Colonel Shewell, the commanding officer, of this movement by the enemy's cavalry. Colonel Shewell at once ordered his regiment to wheel about, which being done, he gave the word to charge, and was himself the first to enter the herd of Cossacks. These unfortunates, completely surprised by the manœuvre, offered but feeble resistance; and this single squadron of the 8th Hussars passed through the Russians, of four times their strength, cutting down all in their way, while the rest dispersed to the right and left. A way was thus cleared for the remainder of our cavalry to retire unopposed—but not unmolested, as the enemy opened upon them with grape from their guns on both flanks, besides throwing out swarms of skirmishers, which combined fire made fearful havoc of the gallant remnant of the Light Brigade. Lord Lucan brought up the heavy cavalry to cover the retreat of their comrades, which they did with perfect order and regularity, although they suffered some loss of men and horses. I should have mentioned to you, that, during the retreat of the light cavalry, the two squadrons of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, which up to that period had not been

engaged, made a brilliant attack on the Russian battery on their left front, which was pouring its deadly volleys on the retreating groups of British heroes. They succeeded in silencing for a time several guns, and only retired when they found that they were opposed to an overwhelming fire from some Russian infantry, which was brought up to repel their attack. In this charge they lost two officers and over fifty men and horses killed and wounded. It was a daring act, and one well worthy of their reputed "*élan*." The losses our light cavalry sustained in this brilliant but unfortunate charge were very great; as follows:—

Killed and missing.				Wounded.			
9	..	..	..	Officers	..	..	12
14	..	..	..	Sergeants	..	..	9
4	..	..	..	Trumpeters	..	..	3
129	..	..	..	Rank and file	..	..	98
<hr/>				<hr/>			
156	..	..	..	Total	..	..	122

278 casualties;

—besides 335 horses killed in action, or obliged afterwards to be destroyed from wounds. It has since been ascertained that the Russians made a good many prisoners; the exact number is not yet known.

Directly it was perceived from the heights that the light cavalry were retiring, Lord Raglan, General

Canrobert, and their respective staffs, descended into the valley. Shortly after Lord Lucan came up to the commander-in-chief, and the first thing Lord Raglan said to him was, "Why, you have lost the Light Brigade!" or words to that effect. Lord Lucan denied this, and said he had only carried out the orders which he had received from Captain Nolan. Some more conversation ensued, in which Lord Raglan blamed Lord Lucan for not using his discretionary power, and for not taking advantage of the auxiliaries suggested to him in the last order, viz. "Troop of horse artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left." It would appear also that Lord Lucan did not see any connexion between that and the previous order, in which he was informed that the infantry (meaning the 1st and 4th Divisions) were also ordered to advance and support him in regaining the heights. In fact, the whole thing seems to have been misinterpreted by Captain Nolan to Lord Lucan, or at any rate misunderstood by him.

Lord Raglan now sent to Sir George Cathcart to desire him to occupy No. 3 redoubt, which had been abandoned by the enemy. This he immediately did, and placed riflemen in such a posi-

tion that they caused the Russians in No. 2 great annoyance. The enemy seemed desirous of not renewing the action, if possible, and contented themselves with the occupation of Nos. 1 and 2 redoubts. From this time they gradually withdrew their troops to the high ground beyond the village of Kamara, and towards dusk only a portion of cavalry and artillery remained in the valley, apparently to prevent their flank from being turned by any attack of the Allies. The allied commanders-in-chief now had a consultation together, when they decided that it would only be a useless sacrifice of life to attempt to retake the redoubts, as it was not their intention to occupy them again. They considered that they had not an adequate force at their disposal to defend in sufficient numbers so extensive a line of works. At the same time they arranged to augment the number of troops in the vicinity of Balaklava. Lord Raglan determined upon leaving the brigade of Highlanders at the disposal of Sir Colin Campbell; and General Canrobert ordered the 2nd brigade of the 1st Division, together with a battery of artillery, to camp on some high ground on the left of our work situated near the village of Kacikoi. This brigade was under the command of

General Vinoy, who was instructed to use his discretion in adopting any suggestion from Sir Colin Campbell in the event of an attack from the enemy. As to our unfortunate allies the Turks, they were to be placed in such a position that they should never have an opportunity of running away again. The only thing to be said in defence of their disgraceful conduct is, that they are so badly commanded, their officers being for the most part men entirely devoid of all education or experience in their profession. I understand that a large number owe their present appointments to having been *chibouqueji* (*i. e.* pipe-bearers) or attendants on pashas, and have only lately left these servile employments. They can hardly be supposed, therefore, to understand military order and discipline. Their loss on the 25th was very considerable. I believe 9 officers and upwards of 250 men were killed or wounded; of these at least two-thirds were struck down when running away after they had abandoned their works.

After dusk the brigade of Guards and the 4th Division returned to their respective camps, as also did the remainder of the French troops. It was dark when Lord Raglan and the staff returned to head-quarters, all melancholy at the results of

the day, and each mourning the loss of several dear friends and brother officers, whose lives had been uselessly sacrificed to a misconception of orders.*

The following morning (Oct. 26th) Lord Raglan and the staff rode down to Balaklava, in order to see in what manner it could be best protected against any attack of the enemy. We found Sir C. Campbell in the redoubt on the crest of the heights to the east of the harbour, where he had been all night, ready, in case the Russians should renew the attack on our position. On these heights are placed the Royal Marines and the 93rd Highlanders, and the two battalions of runaway Turks.

After some consultation with Sir Colin Campbell and the officers who are chiefs of the military departments, it was decided that a line-of-battle ship should be anchored across the upper part of the harbour, and thus bring an overwhelming battery of the

* The loss of the Allies in killed, wounded, and missing, was as follows :—

	Officers.		Sergeants, Trumpeters, and Rank and File.		Casualties.
English 40	..	.. 386	.. 426
French 2	..	.. 50 (about)	.. 52
Turks 9	..	.. 250 (about)	.. 259
Total					737

heaviest artillery to sweep the usual approaches to Balaklava. Then all the works on the heights and in front of the town are to be materially strengthened. As our Turks do not appear to be able to fight, it was determined that they should be employed chiefly in working parties, both at Balaklava and also in the trenches. For this purpose 1500 of them were sent up during the afternoon to go into our two attacks, and work there for the following night. The 42nd Highlanders were placed in rear of the redoubt at Kadikoi, and the 79th, between them and the 93rd, on the eastern heights. These regiments are to strengthen the redoubt and construct a parapet and ditch across the valley to connect the works on the opposite side. The brigade of French under General Vinoy, camped to the east of Kadikoi, were ordered to fortify the ground they occupy, and complete the defence of the position before Balaklava.

On returning, half-way between Balaklava and head-quarters, Lord Raglan was met by a staff-officer sent by Sir De Lacy Evans, who begged to inform him that the Russians had made a sortie in force from Sevastopol on our extreme right, opposite Inkermann. Lord Raglan immediately galloped off to the 2nd Division, and, on his arrival, found that the enemy

had been repulsed and driven back to the town. It would appear that soon after 1 P.M. a strong body of infantry, with two batteries of artillery and two squadrons of Cossacks, left the place, and advanced towards the heights on which our 2nd Division is encamped. This movement they made with such rapidity, that our outposts and pickets had to engage the enemy's skirmishers for some little time before any supports could be brought to them. Directly Sir De Lacy was informed of the Russian attack he ordered out the 2nd Division, and the two batteries of artillery attached to it: in a very short time it was under arms, and instantly marched to the scene of action. In the mean time our pickets had been so hard pressed by the enemy's that they had to retire, and, on the division coming up, our guns opened with great effect. Shortly after, the brigade of Guards was brought up by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge in support of the 2nd Division; it was not however engaged, but the battery attached to it joined those already in action. Our eighteen guns now opened so destructive a fire upon the enemy's artillery, that it was driven out of the field immediately. They then turned their attention to the Russian infantry, which precipitately retired in great

disorder and confusion, followed by our men, who kept up a sharp fire upon the retreating columns. It was with considerable difficulty that our soldiers could be recalled from the pursuit. As the broken forces of the enemy entered the Karabelnaia suburb, near the water's edge, they came within range of one of our Lancasters in the Five-Gun battery, which opened and caused them enormous loss. All this had taken up but little more than half an hour. We captured over eighty prisoners, of whom two officers and seventeen men were untouched. I ought to state that General Bosquet, on hearing the cannonade, turned out five battalions of his division, and marched them in the direction of the firing, and sent an officer of his staff to inform Sir De Lacy Evans of the fact. However, before the French arrived the enemy had been driven back, consequently their proffered assistance was not required. On the following morning (October 27th) the prisoners who were not wounded were brought up to head-quarters and examined by Mr. Calvert. From their account it appears that the seven guns captured before Balaklava on the 25th were brought round the same evening and paraded through the streets of Sevastopol, and it was generally circulated in the garrison that a victory had been

20 were guns of position. He said that he understood their loss was 1 general wounded and 25 other officers, besides about 550 men, killed and wounded.

I have not given you any account of the progress of the siege for the last week. Nothing, however, has occurred of any great importance : we have employed our time in strengthening our approaches and batteries. The fire on both sides has greatly lessened, although at times the Russians favour us with half an hour's heavy cannonading, to which our batteries reply with equal vigour. I am glad to say our casualties in the trenches have, comparatively speaking, been very few. On the morning of the 26th a very large magazine in the centre battery of the French attack was blown up by a shell from one of the enemy's ships. In this explosion they had fifty men put *hors de combat* and three guns disabled.

This morning (28th) Lord Raglan decided that a flag of truce should be sent to ascertain what prisoners the Russians had taken on the 25th. Accordingly he despatched an aide-de-camp to Lord Lucan, requesting him to send a letter by an officer of his staff to the Russian General commanding the troops on the Tchernaya. Lord Lucan intrusted this mission to **Captain Fellowes**, Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-

gained over the English. Consequently the rejoicings were great, the church-bells were rung, and the Admiral gave a ball. The next day they decided upon making an attack, and, as the troops were told that the English were quite disheartened, there was no difficulty in obtaining volunteers for that service. They consisted of 4500 infantry, with 12 guns and two squadrons of Cossacks. They must have been not a little surprised at the readiness with which they were met and repulsed by the British troops, whose number did not exceed 2000 men.

We buried yesterday (27th) 96 Russian corpses; many more were lying nearer the town, which the garrison would not allow us to approach. All the afternoon after the sortie and the following morning large fatigue parties were employed by the enemy in bringing in their dead and wounded. Altogether their loss is estimated at upwards of 600 casualties; our loss was 2 officers and 10 men killed and 5 officers and 51 men wounded. One of the officers who was taken prisoner informed us that the Russian troops that attacked Balaklava on the 25th were under the command of General Liprandi, and consisted of 17,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry (of whom 2000 were Cossacks, the remainder being regulars), and 62 guns, of which

General of the cavalry division. He went, accompanied only by the trumpet-major of the 17th Lancers, bearing a white flag at the end of a lance. They rode up to our most advanced videttes, and then proceeded at a walk towards the Russian outposts, sounding every two or three minutes. As they approached they observed a party of some dozen Cossacks ride out towards them, who, when within fifty yards, halted, and two officers left them and rode up to Captain Fellowes. He addressed them in French, and informed them that he had a letter from the General commanding the English cavalry to the Russian General commanding the troops on the Tchernaya. He also stated the import of the letter, and added that he had observed many dead bodies lying on the ground on the scene of the light cavalry charge on the 25th, and begged they would have them interred, or allow us to send parties for that purpose. One of the officers, in reply, said that he would go and ask the General. He then rode off to the rear with a Cossack orderly. The other officer remained with Captain Fellowes, but, as he could speak no civilized language but his own, their conversation was necessarily limited. However, they managed to fraternize by exchanging cigars and admiring one

another's swords, &c. &c. In a short time the first officer returned, accompanied by an old officer, who was evidently a man of rank from the respect shown him. He was at first not very civil, and appeared much annoyed at the remarks Captain Fellowes had made on the dead being left unburied. "*Dites à votre Général que nous sommes ennemis, mais que nous sommes Chrétiens,*" said he. However, he softened down when he found that Captain Fellowes had brought letters from Russian officers whom we had taken prisoners, and told him that, if he would return to-morrow at midday, he should have the names of the survivors of the 25th. As the mail goes this afternoon, I cannot in this letter give you more information on the subject.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
November 3rd, 1854.

I may as well begin by telling you that on the 29th Captain Fellowes went again with a flag of truce to the outposts of the Russians in the valley of Balaklava. He was immediately met by an officer who gave him a letter from General Liprandi in reply to Lord Lucan's of the 27th; from which

it appeared that they have only two English officers prisoners, namely, Lieutenant Chadwick, adjutant 17th Lancers, and Cornet Clowes of the 8th Hussars, both severely wounded ; the former speared in the neck, and the latter in the back. Both had had their horses shot under them, and it was in attempting to return to our lines that they were pursued by Cossacks, and wounded in the manner I have described. Several other wounded officers had been brought in to the Russian camp after the action of the 25th, but none had survived through the night. They had also from 30 to 40 men prisoners, the majority of whom were wounded. There was also a Piedmontese officer of the Sardinian army taken prisoner. He was one of several officers sent by his Government, and attached to the head-quarters of the French army, and, having come with the French staff on the 25th, foolishly joined in the charge of our light cavalry, had his horse killed under him, and was himself badly wounded. The Russian officer brought also a letter from Clowes to a brother officer of his regiment, in which he stated that they were very kindly treated, and received every attention and comfort that circumstances would admit, and that they were to leave for Simpheropol that evening, to

which place most of the other prisoners had already been taken.

We had all expected that ere this the assault on the town would have taken place, but a variety of causes have prevented it. In the first place, the French, not having succeeded so well as they had expected in subduing the fire from the place, have been pushing forward what are called *flying-saps*, but they are anything but quick in their progress, in spite of their appellation. However, they have got them to within two hundred yards of the enemy's works, and by placing their sharpshooters in small rifle-pits in front of their approaches they are able to fire into the embrasures of the Russian batteries, and in a great measure prevent their artillerymen serving their guns. The consequence of this is, that for the last few days the enemy have fired but little during the daytime, and have confined their cannonade chiefly to the night—just reversing the order of things during the first fortnight of the siege. It has its advantage, as it is extraordinary how few men we lose from dusk until daylight.

We hear from deserters, and indeed we can see, that large reinforcements are daily arriving to the Russian army. It is said that the corps d'armée

under General Liprandi counts upwards of 40,000 bayonets, and that he is expecting another division. General Osten-Sacken has arrived in the Crimea with a large force: accounts vary as to its strength, but probably it is not less than from 20,000 to 25,000 men. In the mean time the Allies are fortifying their position: the French are constructing considerable works along the edge of the plateau overlooking the valley of Balaklava; and the English have been unremitting in their exertions to strengthen the ground before that town. The "Sanspareil" screw line-of-battle ship has been brought round to Balaklava, and is now at the head of the harbour, anchored broadside on, so that her guns sweep the main entrances. For some time past General Canrobert has promised Lord Raglan to send a division of infantry to reinforce our troops on the extreme right, opposite Inkermann; but for some reason or other it has been put off from day to day, so that the much-wished-for assistance has never arrived. Sir De Lacy Evans has several times urged on Lord Raglan the necessity of strengthening our position at this point, and Lord Raglan, willing to give him every assistance and support in his power, induced General Canrobert to promise the

troops before mentioned. Indeed, more than that—Sir John Burgoyne, Royal Engineers, the other day, took General Bizot, *Chef du Corps du Génie*, over the ground, and pointed out to him the desirability of increasing the number of troops at that place, which General Bizot admitted. With our present numbers it is impossible for us to construct any intrenchments. The men of the 2nd division are much over-worked, as the ground they have to defend is so extensive that there are necessarily many outposts and pickets to furnish. Although, with the exception of this weak point, our position begins to assume a formidable appearance, the line of defence is of such extent, that our force, as long as the siege lasts, is not numerous enough to defend it properly against a vigorous attack of the enemy, should they make it simultaneously at different points and in sufficient numbers. However, though the Russians have a large disposable force, I doubt much whether they will have determination and courage enough to overcome British firmness and French gallantry. All this makes it of great importance that the town should be taken with the least possible delay, especially as the troops begin to suffer from the

coldness of the nights. The 29th was the first really cold day that we have had since we landed in the Crimea, and the contrast to the previous warmth was very great. Far more men go into hospital from the night-work in the trenches than from any other cause ; and even those not at work begin to feel the cold very much, being only under the cover of the tents, which are but poor protection against inclement weather. It is strange that there are many, even in high places, who think that we shall not winter in the Crimea ; but I don't see how it would be possible to embark the allied armies with a large Russian force close by, unless we made up our minds to sacrifice all the artillery and cavalry, and even then there would be great difficulty in doing so.

On the 31st there was a sale of the effects of the poor fellows of the cavalry who were killed on the 25th. It was extraordinary to see what enormous prices some trifling things fetched, and, on the other hand, what small sums were bid for valuable horses and costly uniforms. For instance, I saw a pair of old but warm gloves fetch 35s., and two small pots of cocoa go for 24s. apiece, the original cost of either not exceeding 2s. or

2s. 6d. A pot of pomatum and a little tooth-powder was sold at 21s., while a new hussar jacket and sash, which had cost probably 40*l.*, went for 36s. Several chargers, worth at least 150*l.* to 200*l.*, were bought for prices varying from 12*l.* to 25*l.*

On this day a Russian was brought up to headquarters who had deserted from a ship in the harbour of Sevastopol. He said he was a warrant-officer, and that on the 17th October, when the allied fleets bombarded the sea-defences of the town, he was doing duty in Fort Constantine, and that a gun-shell from the nearest ship (probably the "Agamemnon") struck an expense magazine in the fort, and blew up twenty-nine cases of gunpowder, the explosion of which killed and wounded seventy men. He also stated that, if the ships had battered Fort Constantine for half an hour longer, the whole thing would have tumbled down, and that the men serving the guns had orders to fire only *two* rounds more and then retire, as it was feared they would be crushed in the fall of the fort. As it happened, the ships moved off at the very moment this order was given.

I heard to-day from a French officer that some of his [redacted] - uaves had been feasting
[redacted] u some Russian horses

which had been killed a few nights after the battle. This had been done by mistake : a picket of Zouaves, hearing the sound of galloping horses approaching, and fancying that it was a surprise by the enemy, fired with such effect that several horses were killed, while many others were caught. Upon examination, they discovered they were all without riders, although saddled ; and it was evident, from the state of their bridles, that they had broken away from the enemy's camp, probably frightened by some rockets which the French had been throwing at the Russians. I expressed my surprise to the officer that the Zouaves should care about eating horse-flesh, when doubtless they were well provided with meat by their commissariat ; but he replied, that, although they had plenty of *salt* meat given them, *fresh* meat was too great a luxury not to be taken advantage of when thrown in their way, as it was very rarely issued to the troops as rations.*

* I remember Colonel Lagondie telling me that, when serving in Algeria during the winter of 1833-34, he lived for *six weeks* (!) on horse-flesh, as well as the greater portion of the French troops, because there was no other meat to be had. I think this was in the province of Constantine. I recollect, when I was travelling in that country, hearing from several officers that they had often been obliged to eat horse-flesh on the scarcity of provisions.


At daylight on the 1st the French at last opened their breaching fire, but with only 32 guns. They appeared to have considerable effect; and although the Russians answered them very briskly for about an hour, the predominance of the French fire was from that time very apparent, and, after some hours' cannonade, the enemy ceased to reply altogether. The front line of the Russian works is in a very damaged state; but I suspect they care little for that, as they depend chiefly on the strength of their inner line of defence. They have been, for some time past, making very large earthworks in rear of the Redan and Bastion du Mât batteries, and in spite of our incessant fire they continue to increase the batteries in the neighbourhood of the Malakoff tower. All these great inner works are but little affected by our fire, as their outer or front line of defence acts in a great measure as a screen to the inner one. I believe therefore the only thing that would silence the guns in there would be to bring an overwhelming vertical fire from mortars to bear upon them; but, unfortunately, we have but a limited supply of this species of ordnance.

Yesterday morning, shortly before daylight, the Russians opened a furious cannonade on the Allies

from all their batteries, and brought up a number of field pieces, from which they showered grape upon the near approaches to the town. The whole army was got under arms, and reinforcements were sent down to the trenches, as it was thought that they intended to make a general attack on the allied works. The French replied to their fire with equal vigour, but we treated it with silent contempt. Rather questionable pride, I think! It afterwards appeared from a deserter, who came in during the morning, that the Russians fancied, for some reason best known to themselves, that we were going to assault the town at that time. We lost in this cannonade some ten men killed and twice as many wounded. Strange to say, a few nights ago the Russians on the Tchernaya appear to have fallen into the same error, for in the middle of the night their outposts began firing with small arms, and shortly after rolls of musketry were heard, and indeed the flashes seen, by our sentries at Balaklava and also by the French on the heights overlooking the valley. As we had no troops within two miles of the enemy they must have been misled by a false alarm. You will be sorry to hear that for the time being the army has lost the services of Sir De Lacy Evans. He had a fall from his horse

few days ago, which brought on an attack of illness, and in consequence he has been obliged to go on board ship at Balaklava.

I forgot to mention to you that the brigade of light cavalry, under the command of Lord Cardigan, has been moved up from Balaklava to the plateau some little way in rear of the brigade of Guards. This has been done chiefly by the desire of General Canrobert, who thinks that, in the event of an assault being made upon the French works to the rear of our position, cavalry could be advantageously used in checking the progress of the enemy until reinforcements could be brought up, as from the nature of the ground at this point it could only be attacked by infantry, and they could not depend upon the support of a direct fire of artillery.



CHAPTER VIII.

Grand Council of War 4th Nov. — Russian reinforcements — Morning of 5th Nov. — Advance of the enemy on 2nd Division camp — Lord Raglan — Cossack Hill — Sandbag Battery captured by Russians — Four guns taken by the enemy — Retaken — Advance of the Guards, and recapture of Sandbag Battery — False attack on Balaklava — Arrival of 4th Division — Mistake of Sir George Cathcart — His death — Russians again take the Sandbag Battery — Barbarous treatment of our wounded by the enemy — His Royal Highness Duke of Cambridge and Staff — General Bosquet's reinforcement of Zouaves and Tirailleurs — General Canrobert — French troops placed at Lord Raglan's disposal — Final capture by the Guards of Sandbag Battery — Russian artillery and steamers — Desperate fighting, four English generals wounded — Death of General Strangways — General Canrobert wounded — Two 18-pounders brought into action — *Sang-froid* of Lord Raglan; his indifference to fire — Panic of French troops — General Pennefather — "*Quel bon Général!*" — Reserve of French troops — Sir De Lacy Evans — Enemy begin to retire — Their artillery limber-up — Lord Raglan's desire to pursue the Russians — "*Les Black Caps*" — Field of battle after the action — Numbers of dead — Sir De Lacy Evans's extraordinary advice to Lord Raglan — Sortie against French trenches — Forces of the enemy — Their plan of attack, &c. — Council of War 6th Nov. — Russian losses — Letter from allied Generals to Prince Menchikoff — Interment of Generals Cathcart and Strangways — Council of War 7th Nov. — Russian wounded — Losses of the English on 5th Nov.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
November 8th, 1854.

ON Sunday last, the 5th instant, we had another awful battle, far more desperate and bloody than that of the Alma. But before entering into any

details, I may as well inform you that on the 4th there was a grand council of war of the allied generals at the head-quarters of the French army. I am given to understand that it was then decided that a general assault on Sevastopol should take place on the morning of the 7th instant, as our batteries had so far got the upper hand of the enemy that it was at length thought practicable to do so. General Canrobert again assured Lord Raglan that he would send up the long-wished-for support and reinforcement to our extreme right, opposite Inkermann; and had that support arrived, as had been so *often promised*, before the 5th of November, it is impossible to say how many noble lives and gallant hearts might have been spared to their country. I think I have before mentioned that we had learnt from our spies that large reinforcements had already arrived to the Russian army in the Crimea, and that even greater were to be expected. Nevertheless, every one undervalued this information, and all doubted their being able to bring up large bodies of troops in the time which report specified; and it is only a new proof of how much we have all along underrated the strength and resources of the enemy.

The night before the battle of Inkermann passed

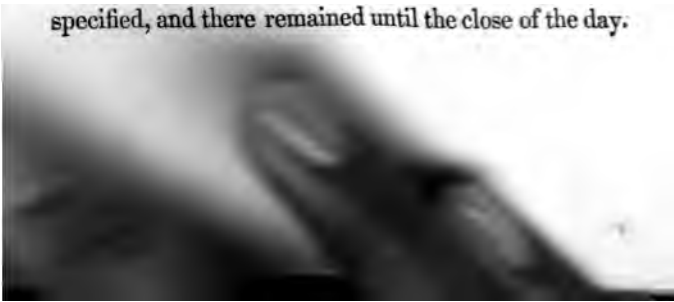
undisturbed, save by the occasional shots which were fired from the different batteries on both sides. But some of the men, on the outlying pickets in front of the 2nd and Light Divisions, more than once fancied they heard the sound of wheels passing under the heights between them and the harbour. These sounds were reported to the officers commanding the outposts; but no heed was taken of them, as they supposed that it was merely provisions or supplies for the garrison, which would have required a regular attack in force to check. Little did the watchers think that the wheels which they heard rumbling in the distance were carrying the means for their destruction, and were but the forerunners of one of the bloodiest struggles in the history of modern warfare.

The morning was foggy; indeed a sort of drizzling rain had fallen throughout the night. It was half-past 5 A.M. when one of the pickets of the Light Division first saw the Russian infantry; their impression was that it was merely some parties of men who had mistaken their road from the thickness of the fog, especially as these appeared to be unarmed. Our picket of some thirty men stepped forward to meet them, but ere they had gone twenty yards they found

themselves in front of a large body of men : it was the advanced guard of the Russian army. The picket appear to have been almost paralysed with astonishment, as they were all, with the exception of two or three, made prisoners without firing a shot. These two or three men ran back and gave the alarm to their supports and to the neighbouring pickets. They all behaved admirably—immediately formed themselves up, and prepared to receive the enemy and contest every inch of ground, whatever might be the odds opposed to them. Fortunately, General Codrington had been visiting the outposts (a morning amusement of his, by the by), and had not as yet arrived in camp, but, hearing some musketry, turned to see what was the matter. A minute later he was met by some men from the outposts, who had been despatched by the officer in command to give notice to the Generals of the Light and 2nd Divisions that our position was being attacked by the enemy. General Codrington, without more ado, galloped off and informed Sir George Brown of the fact, who immediately turned out the whole of the available men of the Light Division; at the same time the 2nd Division was being got under arms by General Pennefather (in the absence of Sir De Lacy Evans).

Scarce had the first shots been exchanged between the advancing parties of Russians and English, when the French sentries on the heights overlooking the valley of Balaklava became aware of the movement of Liprandi's troops towards the English lines before that town. Shortly after the enemy opened their guns on our works, but probably from the thickness of the fog they miscalculated the distance, as their shots fell many hundred yards short. Of course the firing of these guns aroused the whole of the camps along the line of our entrenchments; the troops were, therefore, everywhere turned out. Lord Raglan received information of the attack in force by the enemy on our extreme right about 20 minutes after 6 A.M., and a few moments later intelligence reached him of the Russian advance on Balaklava. The horses were ordered out, and scarcely a quarter of an hour had elapsed before Lord Raglan and his staff were mounted and ready to start for the scene of action. Lord Raglan was doubtful for a moment to which point he should go, as, having been informed of the advance of the enemy on the two extremes of our position, he was sure that one was intended as a feint. Knowing that the ground before Inkermann was our weak point, he felt that there his presence

would be most required ; besides, as he himself remarked, if the garrison of Balaklava, under such command as that of Sir Colin Campbell, was unable to defend itself, he could not assist it. Lord Raglan therefore decided to go to the 2nd Division, having first of all sent to General Canrobert to inform him of the state of affairs. He then despatched an aide-de-camp with orders to Sir George Cathcart (commanding the 4th Division) and Sir George Brown as to the relative support they were to give to one another. Colonel Steele (military secretary) was despatched to General Bosquet, commanding the French troops on the rear of our position, to beg him to send whatever reinforcements he felt able to spare to the support of the English troops on the extreme right. I was sent to Sir Richard England with instructions for him to occupy the ground in rear of our siege-works, and especially to render support on the left of the Light Division, so as to protect that part from any sudden attempt of the enemy to gain the plateau by coming up the ravines in force. To effect this purpose, Sir Richard moved up a portion of his division, under the command of Sir John Campbell, which was most judiciously placed on the ground specified, and there remained until the close of the day.



Lord Raglan and his staff arrived at the field of battle, *i. e.* at the camp of the 2nd Division, at 10 minutes before 7 A.M. I joined the headquarter staff a few minutes later, and found Lord Raglan, with several of his Generals, endeavouring to make out the enemy's force. Their object appeared to be to push up heavy columns of infantry, under cover of an overwhelming fire of artillery. Already the cannon-balls came tearing through the camp of the 2nd Division by dozens at a time. Tents were every moment being knocked over by shot, or blown to pieces by exploding shell. I saw several baggage-horses, tethered in a line, killed by one shot, which passed through them. The scene of confusion which the camp exhibited was frightful. Many bodies were lying about of men who had never even seen the enemy—possibly were hardly aware of their vicinity. The first one I observed was that of an officer lying flat on his back, with a cloak covering his face. I asked a servant who was near, and he told me it was Captain Allix (*aide-de-camp* to Sir De Lacy Evans), who had been killed by one of the earliest round shots from the enemy. I had been talking to him the night before; he was a dear good fellow, and one whose memory I shall always think of with affection.

Lord Raglan at once saw that the attack was serious, and said that it would give us much trouble and hard fighting to drive the enemy from off the ground they had already gained. The great difficulty was to see the numbers and placement of the enemy's troops, as, from the drizzling rain that was falling and the fog, the smoke from the firing hung close to the ground, and totally obscured everything around. But I should premise that previous to Lord Raglan's arrival some desperate fighting had been going on. Directly the outposts were driven in by the Russians, they placed their guns on the commanding ground at a distance of some eight hundred to a thousand yards in front of the camp of the 2nd Division. This high ground was known as *Cossack Hill*, from the fact that on our first arrival a picket of Cossacks was posted on it. By the time that General Pennefather had formed up his troops in line on the crest of the hill before their tents, the Russian infantry were advancing in heavy columns up the road from Inkermann and up the two deep ravines to the right of it. General Buller's brigade of the Light Division also, upon being marched towards the scene of contest, came upon a large body of the enemy in a ravine some little way to the left

of the Inkermann road. The driving rain and fog were so blinding that it was not until they had come within thirty yards that they discovered one another; the men of the Light Division, true to their former valour, charged with the bayonet, and drove the astonished enemy down the ravine before them; having completely put them to flight, they moved on and gained the crest of the hill on the left of the line of regiments of the 2nd Division, already under heavy fire. General Pennefather ordered Brigadier-General Adams to take the 41st and 49th regiments and three guns of Captain Wodehouse's battery, to advance to his right front, and hold the Sandbag Battery—a point of great importance to us from the fact that it was placed at the end of a spur of the heights before Inkermann, and completely overlooked two deep ravines on either side, both of which merged into the valley of the Tchernaya. This battery, as you may remember, had been made for two guns; they had been withdrawn after they had completed the service for which they were placed. Scarce had the 41st and 49th regiments arrived at the battery when they found themselves assailed by a perfect shower of missiles from the enemy's artillery on Cos-sack Hill to their left front. Brigadier-General

Adams ordered his men to lie down to escape as much as possible the effects of the shot: the three guns of Wodehouse's battery were under the command of Captain Hamley, and were placed so advantageously by him that they continued to fire with deadly effect on the enemy's columns ascending the ravine and Inkermann road on their left.

The Russians now began swarming up the sides of the ravines towards the Sandbag Battery, and the cannonade from their artillery partially ceased: then commenced the first of the many bloody encounters during the day for the possession of this small but important little work. The 41st and 49th held their ground for upwards of a quarter of an hour against ten times their force, but, although many of them fell before their accurate fire, they were always displaced from the masses of infantry behind; and it was not until they found that the enemy were concentrating round their rear that the commanding officers found it necessary to order them to retire towards their own division, but in such regularity that they carried their wounded with them. The Russians instantly poured an amazing number of men in and about the battery, and evidently determined to hold it at all costs. Brigadier-General Codrington's brigade

was just marching up to join their comrades of the Light Division, when they were ordered by Sir George Brown to repel the advance of a Russian regiment which was coming up the ravine on the left. They were soon engaged in a sharp conflict, but this portion of the ground was so covered with thick brushwood that it was impossible to charge in line, and consequently the fighting was confined to musketry. A battery of artillery belonging to the 4th Division was sent to assist this brigade by order of Colonel Wood, R.A., who, from over-zeal and anxiety to post the guns where their fire would most cut up the enemy, had them placed too far away from their supports; and although the first few rounds must have told with murderous effect upon them, the Russian skirmishers from amongst the brushwood picked off our artillerymen and caused us severe loss. Major Townshend, who commanded the battery, was killed, as also were numbers of his men and horses; and a large party of the enemy making a rush upon the battery before the guns could be limbered up, four were captured, two of which, however, were spiked. Seeing this, some companies of the 77th and 88th regiments, assisted by a portion of the artillerymen, advanced with a cheer

and retook the guns, making several prisoners, and returned in triumph. Almost at the same moment that this incident took place on the left, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge arrived with a portion of the brigade of Guards under the immediate command of General Bentinck, on the right. The principal part of these men had only shortly returned from twenty-four hours' duty in the trenches ; they could hardly, therefore, be considered as *fresh* troops ; nevertheless they marched into action with their usual proud step and bearing, regardless alike of Russian shot and shell, which was showered with deadly effect on them as they advanced to the brow of the hill. The 41st and 49th regiments, as I have just told you, had been repulsed by the Russian columns from the Sandbag Battery, and were now formed on the right of the 2nd Division, keeping up a heavy fire on the enemy, who were collecting in force by the aforesaid work. It was of importance that they should not establish themselves at that point, and therefore without more ado the Guards were ordered to retake the battery. A cheer arose at this command, and the Grenadier and Fusilier Guards rushed down the incline towards the battery and dashed with irresistible force against the enemy.

They, however, were in such numbers that nothing but the indomitable courage of the English could have overcome such overwhelming superiority. The Russians in a few minutes were driven out of the work, and none of them remained but the dead and wounded. Up to this time the Guards had scarcely fired a shot; their whole attack had been made with the bayonet. Now, however, their Miniés came into play, and the retiring troops suffered seriously from this destructive arm.

The Coldstreams now joined their comrades of the Guards, and the brigade was immediately formed up in the following order: the Grenadiers at right angles to the battery on the right, overlooking the ravine on that side; the Coldstreams in the centre, occupying the Sandbag Battery; and the Fusiliers on the left, towards the regiment on the right of the 2nd Division, but, from the distance and nature of the ground, leaving a considerable interval between them. Lord Raglan and his staff had arrived just in time to see the attack of the Guards, and rode down towards the retaken work, to endeavour, if possible, to ascertain the force of the enemy. The fog, to a certain extent, had cleared off, but the quantity of smoke rendered it impossible to judge

with accuracy of either the strength or disposition of our foes. Lord Raglan saw sufficient to convince himself of the enormous numbers of the Russians over ourselves. He therefore determined to act for the most part on the defensive, and to maintain, at all hazards, the ridge, which formed the natural cover across the front of the 2nd Division camp, and also the Sandbag Battery. It was most desirable to hold this last, as it flanked all the more direct approaches to the ridge. The amazing superiority of the Russian artillery, both in number and calibre, made it the more necessary to confine our efforts to repulsing only the *attacks* of the infantry, than to move our troops about on the offensive, when they would be exposed to the terrible discharges from the enemy's guns. Our whole force at this moment opposed to the Russians did not exceed from 5000 to 6000 men; but Lord Raglan had ordered the 4th Division, under the command of Sir George Cathcart, to come in support of the brigade of Guards and the 2nd Division; he also momentarily expected to receive reinforcements from General Bosquet. On the first intelligence of the attack being made known to this General, he had immediately sent to know whether he could render any

assistance ; but I understand that both Sir George Brown and H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, to whom this offer was made, refused the proffered aid, as at that time they imagined that the attack was not of the serious nature that it afterwards proved. General Bosquet, therefore, contented himself with getting his regiments under arms, and distributing them in order along the edge of the plateau overlooking the valley of Balaklava, to watch the movements of the enemy in that quarter. However, after 8 A.M. it became quite evident that the advance on Balaklava was intended as a feint : the enemy only firing occasionally from their field-guns, without any apparent object, as we did not lose a man here during the whole day.

It was not until General Bosquet had received Lord Raglan's message by Colonel Steele, begging him to support the British troops, that he moved a portion of his division towards the direction in which we were fighting. He had, however, to bring his troops a distance of two miles before he could reach us, and much of the ground that they crossed was covered with thick brushwood, and consequently their progress was but slow. The enemy at this time appeared either to be at a loss what to do, or in preparation for another

general attack upon our position, for, although their artillery kept up an unabated fire, their infantry were held back. Thus the battle was at a standstill for some little time. This was exactly what we could have most desired, as the grand object was to gain time to get up the reinforcements which were expected. The first to arrive was Sir George Cathcart's division, the first brigade of which, under Brigadier-General Goldie, was sent over the ridge to occupy the ground between the left of the Guards and the right of the 2nd Division; and the 2nd Brigade was taken by Sir George Cathcart, under the command of Brigadier-General Torrens, to the right rear of the Guards, where they were ordered by Lord Raglan to remain in support.

Now occurred one of the fatal errors of the day. Sir George Cathcart, seeing the inactive state of the Russian infantry, fancied that by descending the slope of the ravine, and turning round by the right of the Guards and the Sandbag Battery, he might attack the enemy's left flank and strike a severe blow, if not entirely throw them into disorder and confusion. I believe he sent one of his staff to Lord Raglan, to inform him of his projected movement, but, without waiting for his Lordship's sanction,

moved on the greater portion of General Torrens's brigade in the direction I have indicated. He soon, however, discovered what a desperate error he had committed, for, on turning round the end of the spur on which was the aforesaid battery, he found himself under a heavy fusillade from the enemy's riflemen stationed on the opposite side of the ravine, next to the Inkermann road, and also, much to his surprise, he came upon a heavy column of infantry, which was advancing in order to retake the Sandbag Battery. These troops he had not before been able to discover in consequence of the formation of the ground at that point. Immediately the Russians saw our men they opened a heavy fire upon them, and poured volley after volley with most destructive effect, which decimated the brigade. In vain our men endeavoured to return the fire; most unfortunately the greater portion had but little ammunition with them, as they had come that morning out of the trenches without even going into camp. Sir George Cathcart showed his usual bravery, and called upon his men to charge the Russians with the point of the bayonet; but, although they did advance a few yards, the difficulties of the ground and the awful fire poured upon them prevented the movement

from being attended with any success. Sir George found it would be necessary to retire, and the order was about to be given, when Brigadier-General Torrens, determined to make another effort, rallied the 68th regiment, and prepared to try once more a charge up the hill. Sir George called out to him, on the first advance, "Nobly done, Torrens; nobly done!" General Torrens was shot, a moment after, through the side, and fell, severely wounded, at the head of his men. They, seeing this, got disheartened, and wavered, and commenced firing again on the enemy, who replied to it with far greater severity, the advantage of ground being much on their side. Sir George was at this time shot through the head, and fell dead on the spot; his Assistant Adjutant-General, Colonel Seymour (of the Guards), a dear friend, who had served with him through the campaign in Kaffirland as his Military Secretary, on seeing Sir George fall, rushed forward to give him assistance, and in doing so was shot through the leg. Major Maitland (Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General) was also severely wounded. Our troops, completely over-matched, and their ammunition all spent, fell into confusion, and retired back along the side of the hill towards their former station, the

enemy pursuing them in great force, keeping up a heavy fire all the time, and bayoneting our wounded as they passed by them. General Torrens had with great difficulty been carried back with his men. Sir George Cathcart's body had been left, and nothing that could be said would induce Colonel Seymour to leave his side ; there he remained, and met a hero's death in endeavouring to protect his friend and general's person from insult.

The Russians, having completely overcome this attempt to turn their flank, advanced to recapture the Sandbag Battery, swarming up the hill on all sides. The Coldstream Guards, who, as I before told you, had been placed to defend the work, held it for a long time with the utmost determination and vigour : with five times their force opposed to them, they continued to fire on the Russian masses with such coolness and accuracy that the ground was covered with dead and wounded. But no amount of slaughter seemed to check the enemy's onward course ; they showed a reckless bravery and stolid determination for which we had never before given them credit. Numbers at length overcame in this unequal struggle ; and the Guards, after having lost a third of their officers and men, and exhausted their ammunition, slowly retired out of the work, with-

out, however, turning their backs upon the enemy, but leaving behind them many wounded, amongst others Captains Sir Robert Newman and Neville, Grenadier Guards, and Lieutenant Greville, Coldstreams. The Russians once again poured into the battery, and, it is generally believed, committed the most barbarous atrocity by murdering our wounded as they lay defenceless on the ground ; for when the work was afterwards retaken, the above-mentioned officers, although left but slightly wounded, were found quite dead, and their bodies bayoneted in several places, besides being horribly mutilated. The Duke of Cambridge, on seeing his men retire, galloped across their front, and urged them to stand firm and fire upon the enemy, but he was met with the unanswerable reply that they had no more ammunition. His Royal Highness had his horse shortly after shot under him, but was fortunately not hurt, though a bullet passed through the sleeve of his coat ; of his staff, Major Macdonald (who particularly distinguished himself) and Captain Clifton had their horses killed under them ; the latter was also wounded. A few minutes later and Captain Butler (Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General) was shot through the head,

and fell dead.* General Bentinck was also wounded in the arm, and had to leave the ground. In such a state of things there was nothing for it but to rally the men, and place them in the most advantageous position to prevent the enemy from making a sudden rush, and carrying the ridge; of course, immediate orders were given to bring up the reserve ammunition with the least possible delay. The Russians did not attempt to advance upon our men, but continued to concentrate masses of infantry in and about the neighbourhood of the often-contested Sandbag Battery. Had they followed up their success with their previous determination, and pursued our men, the mere weight must have penetrated through the thin line of British troops. Our right flank once turned, the issue of the day would indeed have been doubtful. Probably their already enormous loss had to a great extent disheartened them from attempting to renew the attack.

It was now half-past ten A.M., and at this important moment of the battle General Bosquet arrived with a battalion of Zouaves and another of Tirailleurs Indigènes, and almost at the same time

* He was brother to the gallant defender of Silistria.

General Canrobert and his staff joined Lord Raglan. He brought with him four strong squadrons of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, and immediately informed Lord Raglan that he had ordered up another brigade of infantry, with two batteries of field-artillery. He placed these troops entirely at Lord Raglan's disposal, and begged he would give whatever orders concerning them he thought proper (a very high compliment, by the by, to his lordship, as showing what entire confidence General Canrobert had in his judgment and discretion). Lord Raglan, therefore, requested that the battalions with General Bosquet might be placed so as to support our right, where the brigade of Guards and the remnant of General Torrens's brigade of the 4th Division still remained. As these fine troops advanced to their appointed station, the Zouaves leading the way, they were greeted with loud and prolonged cheers from our wearied soldiers. In the mean time a considerable quantity of ammunition had arrived, and had been served out to those of our men who required it. A general advance on the right was again ordered, and the brigade of Guards, the French troops, and those of the 4th Division who were available, marched down towards the Sandbag Battery. The enemy,

seeing a column of French infantry with our troops, doubtless supposed that we had received large reinforcements; their former determination left them, and they abandoned the redoubt with scarcely any resistance. The Allies having advanced at a rapid pace, the work once more was occupied, and remained in possession of the British, who poured upon the retreating masses a heavy fire, which mowed them down by dozens. Nevertheless our troops at this time, the French especially (from the fact of their being in column), suffered severely from the terrible cannonade which the enemy continually hurled upon them from their artillery placed on Cossack Hill. This cannonade had indeed been playing upon the whole extent of our front ever since the commencement of the action; the heavy ordnance of the enemy had from the first told against us. Their artillery consisted of 24 heavy and 16 light guns, all arranged in two lines upon Cossack Hill; besides this they had three field batteries, placed on some commanding ground which overlooks Careening Ravine: in all they mustered about 60 pieces of artillery in action. Independent of the above the enemy kept throwing up every minute numbers of large shot and shell (chiefly 32-pounders) from two Russian steam

frigates, the "Vladimir" and the "Chersonese," which were placed high up the harbour of Sevastopol. Occasional shots also were fired at a great elevation from the Russian batteries near the Malakoff Tower ; but these last, for the most part, fell short into Careening Ravine, and consequently did us no harm. To reply to all this enormous weight of metal we could bring into the field only six 9-pounder batteries ; in all, 36 pieces of ordnance. But in spite of this preponderance the British artillerymen continued to serve their guns with a steadiness beyond all praise. Their losses were heavy, especially in horses, which caused great confusion, and prevented the reserve ammunition being brought up with the quickness and regularity desirable. Lord Raglan, wishing, if possible, in however small a degree, to equalize the contending artillery, bethought himself of bringing into action any guns of position that we might have unemployed in the siege-train. He inquired of an officer on the artillery staff what guns there were in the right siege-train, and was told that there were two iron 18-pounder guns of position. Lord Raglan immediately despatched an order for them to be brought up. The officer to whom it was delivered (Colonel Fitzmayer) sent an answer back

that it was *impossible*. Lord Raglan was much annoyed at this, turned to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Royal Artillery, one of the head-quarters staff, and said, "Adye, I don't like the word *impossible*; don't you think the guns can be brought up?" Major Adye said he was certain it could be done. Lord Raglan then sent Captain Gordon, aide-de-camp (Royal Artillery), with directions to Colonel Gambier, commanding the whole of the siege-train, to bring the two 18-pounders into action with the least possible delay.

As it was some little time before these guns could be moved up, I will describe to you what had been going on in other parts of the field. But first I must tell you that, on General Canrobert bringing forward the Chasseurs d'Afrique, Lord Raglan sent for the light cavalry brigade, or rather the remnant of it, as it did not muster more than 350 horses. They were placed near the French cavalry, but neither were engaged, although several men and horses were knocked over by the shot that came bounding over the ridge from the enemy's guns on Cossack Hill, and also from the shells thrown up from the steamers at the head of the harbour. At the time that the enemy advanced and retook the Sandbag Battery, causing the Cold-

streams and Torrens's brigade to retire, they pushed on two columns of infantry, one by the Inkermann road, and the other up the ravine next to it. They advanced steadily towards the ridge, under cover of their numerous artillery on Cossack Hill; when within 150 yards they were received with well-directed volleys from our men of the 2nd and Light Divisions, and General Goldie's brigade of the 4th Division: these last, as I before told you, were placed obliquely between the Guards and the 2nd Division. They suffered dreadfully from the Russian column nearest to them; numbers of officers and men were shot down, and, among others, Brigadier-General Goldie was mortally wounded. The 2nd Division again came in for a large share of desperate fighting, most gallantly directed by General Pennefather, who continued throughout the day to cheer and encourage his men by his brilliant example. Brigadier-General Adams, who commanded a brigade, was badly shot through the leg, and rode towards the rear; he passed close by Lord Raglan, who was anxiously watching the battle. General Adams appeared to be suffering agonies from his wound, and was lifted off his horse and carried to the nearest field hospital. Colonel Carpenter also,

who commanded the 41st regiment, was most horribly wounded. The light division acted on the left flank of the 2nd, and on this advance of the Russian infantry materially assisted in checking the enemy's progress; but as they were exposed, perhaps more than any other division, to the hostile cannonade, their loss was fearfully great. Poor Sir George Brown was shot by a musket-ball through the arm, and had to retire, severely wounded, out of action. Although whole lines of Russians fell before our Minié rifles, still they continued to advance without any apparent diminution of numbers.

This unequal contest could not last long; our ranks were sadly thinned, and the inexhaustible reinforcements of the Russians prevented our men from doing more than just holding the ground on which they stood. Indeed Goldie's brigade of the 4th Division had suffered so severely that they had given way on their right, and thus left the Guards with their flank uncovered. Some guns of the artillery were at this moment brought most judiciously to bear on the columns of the enemy, and then only did they cease to advance. This, however, was done without any hurry, as they only retired step by step down the slope of the hill for about 100 yards, and still kept

sending showers of bullets at our diminished line of troops. In return for this repulse of their infantry the enemy brought up fresh guns on *Cossack Hill*, and the whole opened, if possible, with renewed vigour upon the entire length of the ridge. The ground was ploughed up in all directions, as the shot came smashing through the brushwood, throwing about the dust and dirt. As there was no object to be gained by our troops remaining as mere targets to the Russian artillerymen, Lord Raglan ordered the whole of our troops to lie down, as far as practicable. At this time the head-quarter staff suffered severely from the fire of the enemy, and had especially to mourn the loss of one of its principal members. General Strangways, when in the act of receiving orders from Lord Raglan, was struck by a round shot, which carried off one of his legs just below the knee. He turned round and asked in a calm voice for some one to help him off his horse. Major Adye had already dismounted, and went to his assistance. He placed the poor old General on the ground, and then hurried off to procure a stretcher to carry him to the rear. Almost at the same moment that General Strangways was mortally wounded, a shell entered Colonel Somerset's

horse just behind the saddle, and burst inside, covering him (Colonel Somerset) with blood, and splashing several of the staff around. Wonderful to say, Colonel Somerset escaped unhurt, except a slight bruise. Colonel Gordon also had his horse killed under him by a round shot at this place. Major Adye had some trouble in procuring a stretcher, as all the men who were going backwards and forwards from the ambulance to the battle-field carrying wounded belonged to regiments in action, and, when asked by him, said their orders were to confine themselves to removing the wounded of their own corps. However, with the promise of a couple of sovereigns, he got two men to come with a stretcher, and on it General Strangways was carried to the hospital of the right siege-train. The surgeons considered it useless to torture him with an amputation, as at his age he could not survive the operation. Towards the close of the battle, when the Russians were retiring, Lord Raglan received intelligence that the poor old General was fast approaching his end. Lord Raglan immediately rode to the hospital-tent where he lay, and, going in, found him rapidly sinking. He pressed the old man's hand, and told him we had gained the day. A faint smile passed over

the dying veteran's countenance, but he was too weak, from loss of blood, to speak. A few minutes after, and his spirit fled to rest.

But to return to the battle. General Canrobert, when engaged in watching the advance of his infantry on the right, had his horse killed under him by a shot, and was himself wounded, though but slightly, in the arm, by a piece of shell. He went to the rear to have it dressed, but some little time later in the day rejoined Lord Raglan. The moment had at last arrived when the battle was to turn decidedly in favour of the Allies; for at this instant the two 18-pounders were being brought into action. They were dragged up, not without considerable difficulty, by horses and men under the command of Colonel Gambier. This gallant officer was proceeding with these pieces of ordnance towards Lord Raglan, when a spent shot (comparatively speaking) ricocheted off the ground and struck him on the chest. Of course he was knocked down senseless and carried to the rear (as it was thought at the time) a mortally wounded man.* His place was taken by Colonel Dickson,

* Colonel Gambier was many months before he recovered from the effects of this blow. Indeed, for a long time, his life

who brought the guns into action, and continued till the end of the battle in command of them. They were placed in a particular spot, which Lord Raglan himself indicated, in front of the 2nd Division camp, and which gave them the advantage of ground over the enemy's artillery on Cossack Hill. Immediately after the guns opened, the Russians discovered the fact of their presence, for they concentrated their fire upon this point, and sent a perfect shower of balls, in the hope of silencing them. Lord Raglan remained for some little time watching the effect of our practice, and by his coolness and *sangfroid* encouraged the men in serving the guns. I think, while he was there, five or six men were killed and wounded close to him, besides several horses ; but, although a man of the kindest heart and warmest sympathies, Lord Raglan, in action, never allows his attention to be taken off by the casualties around him, and therefore, though in the midst of this great slaughter, neither his voice nor manner was apparently changed. Indeed, to such an extent is this indifference carried, that it is a common saying

was despaired of; for although the shot made no open wound, it caused so great a contusion that the medical men never expected that he would get over it.

among his staff, that "My lord rather likes being under fire than otherwise."

It was now about midday; we received another reinforcement in the shape of two batteries of French artillery and three battalions of infantry; the former were placed, by Lord Raglan's direction, to the right of our heavy guns, with orders to fire upon the Russian infantry, and good service they did, for there they continued until the close of the action, firing with accuracy and rapidity. The infantry Lord Raglan ordered to be posted so as to support the centre of our troops, that is in rear of the 2nd and part of the Light Divisions, which were, for the most part, still lying down to escape the enemy's cannonade. The French advanced up towards the ridge in good order, presenting a broad front and formed in a line of four deep. The moment they reached the crest of the hill they came under the direct fire of the Russian guns and lost in the first minute a number of men. This threw them partially into confusion; they were seized with a panic, and the large majority retired down the hill, in spite of the bugles sounding and the drums beating the *pas de charge*. The French officers, under these trying circumstances, behaved remarkably well; begged, entreated, and swore at

their men, to induce them to return ; but for the moment it was of no avail : they did not run far, as a short distance back they were formed again by their officers, and led up into action. This time, however (if I recollect right), they were in columns of companies instead of a line four deep as before. On regaining once more the crest of the hill they were received by a most murderous discharge from the enemy's artillery, and, for a second, there appeared to be some wavering in the ranks, when two English staff officers went in front of them, and, taking off their caps, cheered them on into action. Their names deserve to be recorded : one was Lieutenant-Colonel Percy Herbert (Assistant Quartermaster-General 2nd Division), and the other, Captain Gubbins (aide-de-camp to Sir De Lacy Evans) ; the latter I particularly remarked for his gallant bearing and zealous exertions, and I regret to say he was afterwards severely wounded. Our allies, when once face to face with the enemy, seemed to recover their courage, and remained, giving their support to our troops, and fighting with them, until the Russians retreated.

I cannot describe to you the sinking sensation one felt on observing our allies give way ; our first impression was that they had retired, beaten back

by the overpowering masses of Russian infantry, and consequently that our thin line of troops had been broken through, if not annihilated. It was the only time that I ever observed Lord Raglan's countenance change. I confess myself that, for the moment, I thought the day was lost. Lord Raglan, with an exclamation of astonishment and annoyance at the retreat of the French, immediately despatched an aide-de-camp to General Pennefather, who was on the left of the line of the 2nd Division, to ascertain the cause of this, and also to find out how we were getting on in that quarter. General Pennefather sent word in reply that he could hold his own perfectly well, and that he saw symptoms of retiring on the part of the enemy's infantry. If this movement proved to be a general retreat, and if he could be reinforced with fresh troops, he said, he would follow the enemy up, "*and lick them to the devil.*" Lord Raglan was delighted at this spirited answer, and, riding over to General Canrobert, translated General Pennefather's words literally to him. General Canrobert, who had just remounted his horse, after having his arm bound up, exclaimed "*Ah ! quel brave garçon ! quel brave homme ! quel bon général !*" Lord Raglan, wishing as much as lay in his power

to further General Pennefather's views, shortly afterwards sent him up some companies of the 20th regiment and about 200 of the Guards. These, for the most part, were men who had some little time before come to the rear to replenish their pouches, their ammunition being exhausted, and the rest had been brought off pickets, which, in the emergency of the moment, were thought unnecessary. Another brigade of French infantry (mustering 3000 men) and two more batteries of 12-pounders had before this arrived, but, by General Canrobert's wish, they were kept in reserve and did not go into action at all. Sir De Lacy Evans about this time rode up to Lord Raglan; he had come from Balaklava, where, as you may remember, he had gone from illness, and, on receiving intimation of the battle, had insisted on returning to the front, although not in a fit state of health to do so. He appeared to take a very gloomy view of matters, and even at this time seemed to think that the issue of the day was doubtful. His division being under such able command as that of General Pennefather, who had held it during the heat and burden of the day, Sir De Lacy Evans had the good taste and kind consideration not to deprive him of it; so that the honour of commanding the

division during the entire action might remain with him who had already so brilliantly distinguished himself.*

Our 18-pounders had not been in action half an hour before their superiority was shown by the enfeebled reply of the enemy's artillery. Indeed, at one time, a great number of their guns ceased firing, and we were in hopes that they were finally silenced. However, our expectations on this point were disappointed, as shortly after they all opened again; probably they had merely ceased from a temporary want of ammunition. Their fire, nevertheless, continued to decrease and was far less accurate. It was evident that they had lost many of their best artillerymen. On the other hand, although our loss in gunners had been very great, especially among those serving the iron 18-pounders (17 of whom were killed or wounded), we received fresh men from the right siege train, and if anything our fire became more and

* Lord Raglan, in his despatch of the 25th of September, states that "he" (Sir De Laury Evans, "the English general") (General Pennefather) "his last advice was not to attack." It appears to have been an error on the part of the despatch, as I have it from the very best authority that General Pennefather never spoke to Sir De Laury Evans with regard to the attack.

more accurate. I never saw such beautiful practice ; the greatest praise is due to Colonel Dickson for the admirable manner in which he directed his men. Shortly before 1 P.M. it became perfectly evident that the Russians only continued their cannonade in order to cover their infantry, who began to retire in heavy columns. The day cleared with our prospects, and as we gazed on the battle-field, and compared our small force with the still huge masses of our retreating foes, we felt indeed greatly relieved that we had no longer their legions opposed to us. The mighty duel of artillery continued for some time, the enemy drawing off their guns by fours every ten minutes or so, until but two batteries remained on Cossack Hill. These were severely knocked about by our 18-pounders, but Lord Raglan sent an aide-de-camp to Colonel Dickson to desire him to cease firing, as he wished to advance some infantry, and thought that the enemy would be glad of an excuse to withdraw their guns. Colonel Dickson begged to be allowed to have a few shots more, as he said he had the range so perfectly ; and, to verify his assertion, the guns, which were then loaded, were fired, and the shot went crashing through two Russian carriages. A minute or two

later he ceased firing, an example which the Russians immediately followed, and then we had the satisfaction of seeing the last of their artillery limber up and gallop off the field.

Thus terminated the battle of Inkermann, for, although they fired at us from the Russian batteries occasionally, and we also sent a few shots after the more distant columns of infantry, yet no more actual fighting took place. Lord Raglan was very anxious that, as soon as their artillery was withdrawn, the Russians should be pursued down the Inkermann road; thinking that their panic would be thus increased, and many prisoners made, besides causing them heavy loss. In all retreats troops are invariably more or less in a state of disorganization; and there could be no doubt that, had this been done according to Lord Raglan's wish, a greater blow might have been struck upon the enemy. Moreover, as almost the entire Russian force retreated over the Tchernaya river by a single bridge, there was good reason to suppose that they must have been in great confusion, from the number of men who had to pass over in so narrow a space. Unfortunately there was no British infantry that could have been employed in this service; all our available troops were either killed or wounded—all had suffered a heavy

loss, and but very few had partaken of any nourishment since the previous day; consequently they were exhausted by the protracted struggle that had taken place, and it would have been unfair to expect troops to do more than they had already accomplished. This, however, was not the case with all the French; the Zouaves and others had suffered severely, and had shared with us the honours of the day, but there was still a brigade of 3000 men and two batteries of artillery which had never been under fire. Lord Raglan pointed out to General Canrobert the great results which might accrue from the pursuit of the enemy, and most strongly urged that the French troops, then on the ground, who had not been engaged, should be employed for this purpose. For some reason unknown to me, General Canrobert did not agree with Lord Raglan, and, when again pressed by the English commander-in-chief, proposed that, if they went, the Guards should go with them, as he said his infantry had such confidence and admiration for "*les Black Caps*." This, however, was quite out of the question. The Guards now consisted of but a handful of exhausted men, and these had still to perform the onerous duty of removing their many wounded, who

had fallen too far in advance to be carried to the rear during the action. After more conversation and repeated urging on Lord Raglan's part, General Canrobert consented to send a battalion of infantry, with a battery of guns, to the high ground which the enemy had just abandoned ; this commanded the bridge over the Tchernaya river and the causeway across the valley of Inkermann. The two commanders-in-chief, and a portion of their respective staffs, accompanied the French battalion and guns ; but so much time had been lost by General Canrobert's indecision, that, when they arrived at the place indicated, they found that the enemy had, in the most masterly manner, almost completed the retreat of his infantry across the bridge, and had from this point deployed to the right and left, so that the fire from the battery of French artillery on the heights just mentioned did him, comparatively speaking, but little harm, and his forces were completely out of range of small arms. It is much to be regretted that General Canrobert, in the first instance, did not accede to Lord Raglan's proposal to follow the Russians down the Inkermann road. Had he done so, even with the battery of six light guns, great chastisement might have been inflicted on them.

Indeed General Canrobert admitted his error, and expressed to Lord Raglan the regret he felt at not having at once followed his advice. Lord Raglan had been desirous to bring forward the two 18-pounders, which had already done such good service, to the brow of the hill, where the French battalion was afterwards placed ; but on asking Colonel Dickson's opinion, it appeared that it would be almost impracticable to move them, as our losses in artillerymen and horses had been especially great, and those that were available were knocked up by the continual work they had had to perform in serving the guns and bringing ammunition, &c., backwards and forwards. The ground, too, which these guns must have traversed, besides being very rocky and full of inequalities, was covered with thick brushwood.

The allied commanders now rode over the field of battle, and horrible, indeed, was the sight that everywhere met their gaze. Mangled corpses of friend and foe lay in every direction ; such heaps of slain ! In some places down the Inkermann road, where our shot and shell had fallen into the retreating columns of the enemy, the way was literally blocked up with dead and dying. The spots where artillery had been placed could be easily traced by

the circle of dead which lay around the position of each gun. Behind every bush one discovered a body; some so terribly smashed that one could scarcely credit that they had ever been human forms. On visiting the Sandbag Battery the most awful scene presented itself. Within the circumference of a few yards round the work upwards of 700 dead were lying, the majority of them torn with the most ghastly wounds; for here had raged the most desperate hand-to-hand conflicts. Upwards of 200 British soldiers were stretched upon the ground which they had so nobly held until death. Outside the parapet of the battery the Russians appeared to have piled some of their dead, probably with the idea of using their bodies as a sort of *banquette* for them to stand upon to fire into the battery. In each embrasure were the bodies of two Russian soldiers, who had evidently been endeavouring to enter the work; in front of them were the bodies of guardsmen. In the empty magazine of the battery were found several corpses, probably of some poor creatures who had been wounded, and who had crawled in there to be under shelter. While we were there the French cacolets arrived, and were speedily loaded with our poor wounded. This was a kind thought

on the part of General Bosquet, who ordered them to be sent down to the battery, from whence but few of our wounded had been yet removed, in consequence of its advanced position. The English ambulance-waggons consist of great lumbering vehicles, which are far more difficult to move over broken ground than even a heavy piece of ordnance; but the French cacolets, carried on mules, are both easier for the wounded, and are able to go into places impracticable for carriages. Lord Raglan, anxious to alleviate the sufferings of our wounded enemies as soon as possible, ordered a fatigue-party of 500 of the Turks (whom you may remember had been ordered up to the front since the 25th) to bring them at once into camp, so that before dusk upwards of 700 wounded Russians were more or less provided with surgical aid. On leaving the field of battle, Lord Raglan went to General Pennefather to make the necessary arrangements for the better protection of our position on the right, in case the Russians should attempt a renewal of the attack. It was determined that a parapet should immediately be constructed along the ridge which our troops had held throughout the day; and to effect this purpose large working parties of Turks, under the direction

of some officers of the Royal Engineers, assisted by a party of sappers and miners, were ordered to set to work so as to complete it by the following morning. The iron guns of position were retained in the spot where they had already done such good service; and two other guns of the same metal and calibre were to be brought up and placed on the left of this parapet; so that troops again descending Cossack Hill would be received by a cross-fire from these pieces of artillery.

Lord Raglan was shortly after joined by Sir De Lacy Evans, who took upon himself to give his lordship the most wonderful counsel and advice which, perhaps, ever fell from the lips of a British general. He urged upon Lord Raglan the utter uselessness, and indeed impracticability, of attempting to hold our present position, supposing the enemy's attack to be renewed, of which there was every probability. He therefore gave it as his opinion that there was nothing to be done but for us to raise the siege, embark the troops in the best way we could, and evacuate the Crimea. Such was the meaning, if not the actual words, used by one of the oldest and most experienced generals we have in the army out here! Lord Raglan, of course, never for one second entertained such a project; but with his

usual courtesy he took the trouble of pointing out to Sir De Lacy the absurdity of his proposition. In the first place, even admitting we had gained no victory, that could not justify the abandonment of our siege-train and material to the enemy, which we should necessarily be obliged to do, from the impossibility of embarking it. In the second place, supposing that we had transport enough to carry all the English troops, what was to become of the French, as we had brought certainly half their present force to the Crimea? Besides this, there were the Turkish troops unprovided for. Would Sir De Lacy Evans counsel that our allies should be left in the lurch? not quite an English mode of dealing with our friends! Altogether there is no way of explaining this most extraordinary plan of Sir De Lacy Evans. One can only account for it by the fact that he was in a feeble state of health, and that possibly his illness may have affected his mind as well as his body.

After this discussion Lord Raglan proceeded to several different camp-hospitals to inquire after the wounded, and had the satisfaction of hearing that almost all the English sufferers were already under the care of the surgeons of the army. The numbers, however, were so great that necessarily many had to

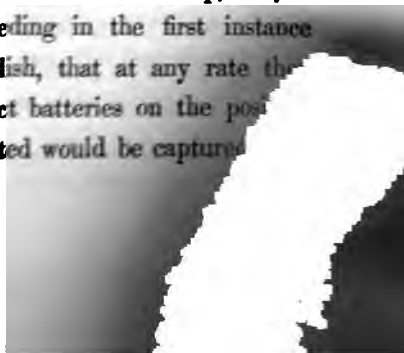
lie with wounds undressed for a considerable interval of time. No blame could be attached to the doctors for this, as they worked with a zeal and earnestness for which, indeed, they are always remarkable.

I should have mentioned to you that early in the day a sortie on a large scale had been made from the enemy's works at Quarantine Fort, against the left of the French trenches. It appears to have been of a more formidable nature than any that has as yet taken place. The Russians penetrated a considerable way into the French trenches, and succeeded in spiking the guns of two batteries, and in partially overturning and destroying a portion of their parapets. After a considerable encounter, the French troops under General de Lourmel succeeded in driving the enemy out of their trenches, but, being carried away in the excitement of action, they fell into the error of following the Russians up to the very batteries of Sevastopol! the guns of which, upon their retreating, opened on them with showers of grape, and caused them fearful loss. Amongst others, the gallant General de Lourmel was mortally wounded. He was a man of much promise, and one from whom our allies expected great things.

Lord Raglan arrived at head-quarters shortly before

seven in the evening, having been on horseback more than twelve hours. Soon after this about 200 Russian prisoners were marched under escort into the headquarters camp. Mr. Calvert (chief of the intelligence department) set to work to collect from them any information they could afford, especially as regards their force, the object of their attack, the generals who commanded them, &c. &c. He ascertained that the Russian force consisted of three regiments of the 10th, 11th, 16th and 17th Divisions respectively, that is 12 regiments of 4 battalions each, or 48 battalions. These properly should consist of 1000 men each, but, from the great losses which the 16th and 17th Divisions sustained at the Alma, that number had been considerably reduced; but, putting their casualties in battle and sickness at 10,000, the Russian infantry at the battle on the 5th instant must have probably consisted of 40,000 men. To these must be added their enormous force of artillery, which mustered, according to the accounts of the prisoners, 24 heavy pieces of ordnance, guns of position (probably equal to our 32-pounder howitzers), and 10 batteries of field artillery; and as each battery consists of eight guns in the Russian service, that will give 80 field-pieces. But of these, pro-

bably three or even four batteries may not have been engaged. Perhaps in all we may safely put the Russian army at the battle of Inkermann at 50,000 men. It appears that the whole force was divided into two great columns, one consisting of the 10th and 16th Divisions, under the command of General Soimonoff, and the other consisting of the 11th and 17th Divisions, under the command of General Pauloff. These two corps, for such they may be designated, were under the immediate orders of General Dannenberg. General Liprandi's division, which had lately received large reinforcements, was placed under the command of General Gortschakoff. Prince Menchikoff appears to have taken the direction of these three great columns; and as they were at a considerable distance apart, a system of semaphores was established on the heights above Inkermann and on those above the village of Tchorgoun. It appears that the object of their attack was to take possession of, and establish themselves on, the high ground in front of our 2nd Division camp, and, in the event of not succeeding in the first instance in driving off the English, that at any rate they would be able to construct batteries on the position which they took for granted would be captured.



us ; and from thence with their guns to enfilade the English camps and compel us to withdraw our troops and consequently raise the siege. To effect this purpose, they brought up a large quantity of intrenching tools, as well as gabions and fascines to erect batteries. The plan of attack seems to have been as follows :—General Soimonoff's column was to leave the town an hour before daylight, and to proceed up the Careening Ravine, which he was to follow, and enter the English position at that point, thus cutting off our extreme right from the rest of the ground we occupied. General Pauloff's column was to march from the northern side of the harbour of Sevastopol, across the valley of Inkermann and the Tchernaya river, by the causeway and bridge, and there divide into two bodies ; the left—to follow the course of the Inkermann road and ravines adjoining it, and thus gain the right of our 2nd Division camp ; the right—to ascend the high ground after leaving the Tchernaya, and, crossing near Cossack Hill, penetrate to the camp of the 2nd Division on its left. The main portion of the artillery was to be posted on Cossack Hill, as it was known that the camp of the 2nd Division was within easy range of it. To render their success more

certain, it was determined to make two false attacks on the extremes of our position; one by a formidable sortie from the garrison of Sevastopol on the left of the French siege-works; the other by General Gortschakoff's column, which was to threaten Bala-klava and the rear of our position, in the hope of preventing the withdrawal of troops from that quarter to our assistance during the grand attack at Inkermann. The whole of these arrangements appear to have been carried out, except that, according to the prisoners' statement, General Soimonoff's column did not take the proper turn after entering the gorge of the Inkermann ravine, and that consequently, instead of cutting off our 2nd Division from any reinforcements, they arrived near Cossack Hill on the right of General Paulsk's column, thus crowding the ground with troops. General Soimonoff was unfortunately killed, so that probably this will ever remain a mystery. The whole scheme was certainly most cleverly planned, and, had it not been for the indomitable courage and determination of the British troops and the untimely assistance of the French, the Russians in Seville would have succeeded in attaining their object.*

* Many statements
for failure on the

been made as to the part of the Russian army.

The prisoners state that their loss has been something frightful; but I do not see how they can be good judges of this, though no doubt they are right, as in the heat of battle you never can know the loss you have sustained at the time, except immediately around you. They also report that two sons of the Emperor, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, arrived on the 4th instant at Sevastopol, for the avowed purpose, they declare, of seeing the Allies driven into the sea!

Late in the evening Lord Raglan sent an aide-de-camp to General Canrobert to propose to him that a heavy cannonade should be opened from all the allied batteries on the following morning against the enemy's works. Lord Raglan calculated that the intelligence of the defeat and rout of the Russian army would not be generally known to the garrison of Sevastopol until the following morning, and that the fact of their being

has often been alleged, and, indeed, by Prince Menchikoff himself in his despatch of the battle, that the defeat was caused by General Soimonoff not taking the proper ravine from the head of the Careening Bay. It appears, however, never to have occurred to any one that a considerable portion of the battery was enfiladed by the English 5-gun battery; and I much much whether any column of troops, necessarily crowded together as they would be in so narrow a space, could ever face the fire of such formidable pieces of guns of this battery being of the heaviest calibre, viz

assailed with a heavier cannonade than usual, on receiving the first news of this disaster, would probably add to their panic and consternation, and materially tend to the effectual carrying out of an ulterior scheme which I shall presently mention to you. General Canrobert at first hesitated whether to comply with Lord Raglan's proposal or not, as it appeared from his explanation that they (the French) are very short of ammunition—indeed have not enough for a single day's heavy firing in their artillery parks. However, he finally consented to open upon the Russians at daylight what he called "*un feu de joie*" for the victory at Inkermann. The same evening Lord Raglan received reports from all the different divisions engaged in the battle, that to the best of their belief all the wounded British troops had been brought into each of the camp hospitals, although probably (as indeed was afterwards shown in a few instances) some might yet remain in obscure parts of the field.

I was up early the following morning (6th) and rode off to the right, first of all, to inquire after the wounded, among whom were many friends, and then to ride over the field of battle. I was shocked to find several brother officers, who the day before had been reported severely wounded, had died during

the night. Among others, Brigadier-General Goldie, Colonel Blair of the Guards, and Colonel Carpenter of the 41st regiment, besides many others whose loss will be greatly felt. On riding over the scene of sanguinary contest, it was sad to see what frightful numbers of bodies were everywhere lying about. Now that the excitement of the battle had passed off and one could look calmly around, the fearful aspect of the field was far more striking than before. The same peculiarities were to be observed as those I have mentioned at the battle of the Alma—I mean those shot through the head and heart all appeared to have died so easily, and really almost in every instance with a smile upon the lips; and on the other hand, those wounded in the body, especially when from the bayonet, invariably showed on their countenances the agonizing death they must have suffered. It was wonderful, too, the numbers who had their arms stretched upwards, as if imploring aid. Altogether the ground presented a most horrible and sickening spectacle, and one which I shall never forget. A good number of Russians who had been wounded on the previous day, and who had crawled as far from our camp as their strength would allow, were brought in during the morning. Fatigue parties were also

removing the few wounded of the French and English who had been accidentally left on the field.

The cannonade I have spoken of was opened on the morning of the 6th from all the English batteries, and was kept up with unremitting energy by our artillerymen for several hours. The French confined themselves to firing sharply for the space of half an hour, and after that time only continued at the usual rate.

A general return of killed and wounded was sent in to the Adjutant-General's office, amounting to, in the English army, close upon 2600 casualties. The French state their loss in killed and wounded at 1760 men; but I understand that that number includes the repulse of the Russian sortie from the right of the town, and this is stated to have cost them upwards of 1100! The Russian loss it is difficult at present to calculate—it is stated at from 10,000 to 15,000 men; indeed many aver that 20,000 would be nearer the mark. This, however, is a matter of conjecture, as it will be days before we can collect the numbers of Russian dead lying about on the field of battle.

There was a council of war during the morning at the English head-quarters; present—Lord Raglan, General Canrobert, Sir John Burgoyne, and General Bosquet. This was partly to arrange the

time we should not make any offensive movement against the enemy, but confine ourselves to acting on the defensive, holding our present works without making any absolute advance. For the better protection of the right of our position, he (General Canrobert) engaged that the French troops should construct the greater portion of the new works to be erected there, and also that they should occupy the same. Lord Raglan, although utterly opposed in every way to the first part of this scheme, had no alternative but to accept it, as the English army was now reduced to little more than 16,000 bayonets. It was also finally settled that, as now there could be no doubt of the army wintering in the Crimea, and probably on their present ground, measures should be immediately taken for hutting the troops; and for this purpose it was resolved to despatch vessels to Constantinople, Sinope, and other parts, where it was likely that they would be able to procure wood and the necessary materials for housing the army. There were certain generals present who thought so badly of our actual position that they proposed that the siege should be raised, and the troops withdrawn to different ground, if the idea of the army being embarked was impracticable; and I understand that

his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge advocated this measure, and advised that, as far as the English army was concerned, it should occupy the heights round Balaklava.

This morning (8th) 1000 Turks were ordered to be employed in collecting the Russian dead on the field of Inkermann, as up to this time only the dead of the allied armies have been interred. This, although it may appear rather a menial office, was not without considerable danger, as the enemy had never ceased since the close of the action to throw up occasional heavy shot and shell, from steamers which they had stationed for this purpose near the head of the harbour, upon any groups they could discover. The enemy must have been perfectly aware of what we were about, as the distance was not too great to discover with the naked eye the burying-parties occupied with their melancholy duties. This also is made a subject of complaint by the allied generals in their letter to Prince Menchikoff.

Yesterday and the day before the Turks were employed in bringing in the Russian wounded; and of these we have in camp nearly 1100. We are now able to judge to a certain extent of the losses of the Russians at the battle of the 5th. There are

said to be nearly 4000 corpses lying on the field ; so that, if you allow three wounded men to every one killed (which is very much inside the usual calculation), their loss at that proportion would be 16,000 men. With us the proportion has been about four and a half wounded to one killed, both at the battles of the Alma and Inkermann. But independent of the dead left on the field, the Russians appear to have lost numbers who have since died ; for during the last two days large working-parties have been employed on the further side of the valley of Inkermann in making great pits for the receptacle of their dead ; and by the aid of a telescope we could see numbers of corpses perpetually brought down from the camp on the heights above. They had placed close to where they were working a large black flag, and put up a high white cross, I suppose, to show us what they were about, so that they should be unmolested. I need hardly say that nothing was done by us to prevent their performing the last rites to those who had fallen for their country's sake. It is strange that they should not have the same regard for us.

Captain Fellowes (Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General) went in to-day with a flag of truce from our lines in front of Balaklava to take the letter of which

I have spoken. He was received by two Russian officers at their outposts, who informed him that an answer should be sent as soon as possible.

I will end by giving you the general total of our dreadful losses on the 5th instant:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Officers	43	103	1
Sergeants	32	122	6
Drummers, and rank and file	387	1727	191
	<u>462</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>198</u>

Grand total, 2612 casualties.*

* This includes the losses in the trenches on the 5th, as well as those in the battle.

CHAPTER IX.

Redoubts — Change of weather — Prince Menchikoff's letter to the allied generals — Court of inquiry — Reinforcements — Dreadful state of roads — Deserters from the enemy — False alarm — "Shaves" in Russian camp — Lord Raglan's accurate calculations — Anecdotes of the battle — English force engaged at Inkermann — Dreadful hurricane, November 14th — Tents, &c., blown down — Sick and wounded exposed to the storm — Sufferings of the troops in the trenches — Losses of transports off Balaklava — The *Prince* goes down with warm clothing, &c., &c., on board — Damage to English and French fleets — Losses at Eupatoria — Russian deserters — Numbers of English generals incapacitated or dead — Polish deserters — Capture of the "Ovens" by a party of Rifles — Death of Lieutenant Tryon — Dreadful weather — Lord Raglan visits all the camps — Losses in cavalry horses — Sufferings of the troops from the inclemency of the weather — The cholera again breaks out — Lord Raglan visits the different hospitals — Council of war of the English generals of division — Three sorties on French trenches.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
November 13th, 1854.

I WILL now give you some extracts from my Journal.

November 9th.—Last evening, three redoubts and a heavy battery were traced out on the high ground on which the battle of Inkermann was fought. One redoubt, to the right of the Inkermann road and

between the Sandbag Battery and our 2nd Division camp, was commenced by the French, and by this morning had already assumed a formidable appearance. The heavy battery was traced on the spur next to that on which is the Sandbag Battery; it will be constructed as soon as the redoubt just mentioned is finished. The other two were begun by a working-party of 800 Turks, under the direction of some officers of the Royal Engineers and a party of Sappers and Miners. One of these is placed on Cossack Hill, and is of considerable dimensions; the other, some way in advance, overlooks the bridge and causeway in the Valley of Inkermann. Neither of these two last field-works make much show, as unfortunately the ground is very rocky and requires blasting, added to which the Turks progress but slowly with our English intrenching tools. In the afternoon, Lord Raglan, with his staff, went again over the field of Inkermann, and also to see the new works above alluded to. The enemy threw several immense 84-pound hollow shot (10-inch diameter) at us, but without their ever taking effect. The dead have now all been interred, although doubtless there may yet be a few undiscovered bodies in bye-places. All the dead horses have been dragged to

one spot, low down the ravine that runs up from the Tchernaya alongside the Inkermann road, as it was found, from the immense number, that it would be quite impracticable to attempt to bury them, and at this spot there are now no less than 357 carcasses of horses! Of these 80 were English artillery horses, 47 English staff and baggage horses, 101 French horses, and the remainder Russian. It is intended to cover them with lime, as soon as any can be procured; but as the hot weather is passed, and the winter is now coming on, they probably will not be injurious to the health of the troops.

November 10th.—It has rained in torrents for the last two nights and almost the whole of this day. We begin to fear that the weather is breaking up. The trenches in places are knee-deep in slush, and to avoid this the men have continually been walking out of the trench, and have thus exposed themselves to the fire of the place, and several, I am sorry to say, have been killed or wounded from this cause. Stringent orders, however, have been issued to prevent the men exposing themselves unnecessarily, and the engineers are endeavouring, as far as possible, to drain the trenches. This can only be partially done, in consequence of the formation of the ground. A

reply came from Prince Menchikoff, late last night, to the letter of the allied Generals of the 8th instant, in which he states that he thinks that our Generals are misinformed about the Russian soldiers stabbing and maltreating the English wounded when on the ground. He says that it is contrary to the character of a Russian soldier, and that, although unfortunately there are in all armies men who will commit any atrocity, still it is quite the exception to the rule, and that he should doubt many instances being found of it amongst his troops. After speaking much more upon the horrors of war, and of the probability of there being men who, in the excitement of battle, allow themselves to commit acts of which, in their cooler moments, they repent, he concludes by complaining that the French have committed a great sacrilege in burning a church, at the head of Chersonese Bay, on the 5th instant, which has made the Russian troops very indignant, as it was a spot that was held especially sacred by them. Thus it would appear from the general purport of Prince Menchikoff's letter, that although he does not admit of the acts of barbarity complained of, yet he makes the burning of a church a sort of set-off against it. As regards this deed of the French, I need only

state that it was purely accidental, and, indeed, it is hardly likely that they would go and burn a building which might serve them for many useful purposes. The Court of Inquiry, which had been ordered to ascertain the truth of the accusations made against the enemy's troops, concluded its labours to-day. The charge was clearly established by the evidence of 52 witnesses, officers and soldiers; none of whom died from the wounds they had received when lying helpless on the ground, and whose evidence was taken on their death-beds. No less than 6 officers, and twice as many sergeants and privates, it was proved, had been murdered by these inhuman cruelties on the part of the Russian troops. The officers' names were as follows:—Colonel Carpenter, 41st Regiment; Captains Sir R. Newman and Neville, Grenadier Guards; Captain Mackimmon and Lieutenant Greville, Coldstream Guards; and Captain Nicholson, 77th Regiment. The 46th Regiment, about 700 strong, besides 500 men, drafts of different regiments, arrived at Balaklava, and joined their respective corps to-day. This is a very acceptable reinforcement. The French are daily expecting two divisions of infantry, equal to about 15,000 men. One of their dragoon regiments has just arrived

numbers of our best marksmen, and it is to be hoped that by this means we shall keep under the fire with which the enemy now annoy us from their rifle-pits. These they have established in considerable numbers along the front of the whole line of their works. Several deserters came in to-day; they were brought up to head-quarters, and were examined, as usual, separately. On being asked about their losses on the 5th, they all agreed that General Simonoff and two other general officers had been killed, and from 225 to 240 other officers killed and wounded. As to their losses in men, they varied much in their statements. One said they had buried nearly 8000 men, and had 6000 wounded, but 7000 more were missing. Another told us that they had 5000 killed and 8000 wounded, but more missing. A third quietly informed us that they had lost 20,000 men. Altogether, it was difficult to come to any accurate conclusion from their statements; but, considering the numbers that we have buried and the small proportion of wounded that fell into our hands, I think their loss may be safely estimated at 15,000 men.

November 12th.—This morning, at daylight, a report reached head-quarters, that the Russians were

500 bodies, and that several of these had been excavated in various places in the valley of Inkermann ; and it was when on this duty, that they had managed to run away.

It is said, the Russian medical department is on a very limited scale ; that almost all their surgeons are foreigners, unable to obtain employment in their own countries, and consequently men of very imperfect knowledge of their profession ; and it is said, the wounded Russian soldiers, in the Danubian Principalities, but rarely survived, from want of proper treatment. There was a story, I remember being told when at Constantinople, of a Russian general, who, when spoken to as to the inferiority of their medical department, said, it was better for the service that men should die who were disabled, as it was such an incumbrance having a large train of non-effective men, and it cost less to get another man than to cure one who was sick or wounded.

Some other deserters from the town informed us that on the evening of the 5th, it was generally believed by the garrison, they had gained a great victory over the Allies ; but, on the following morning, handfuls of men, representing the remains of regiments, returned to the town ; and that, when they be-

placed in it 5 guns of position (32-pounder ship-guns). The redoubts being made under the direction of the English, but worked by the Turks, are still very backward, and look untidy and ragged. I believe we are to give them up shortly to the French, when they have finished the works they are now about. The Turks, who, as usual, have proved themselves utterly useless, are to be sent down to Bala-klava to join the rest of their unfortunate race. This evening, another transport arrived with 1180 men on board, drafts to our different regiments out here.

November 13th.—To-day it has been raining in torrents, and I am very thankful I have not been sent out as yet. My tent is getting rather worn, and lets in more water than is either pleasant or desirable. I begin to feel the cold much at night, and in spite of every precaution one can take, the wind will insist on coming in at the door or under the sides of the tent. But I hope, in the course of a few days, to get under a roof; that is to say, I have taken possession of a miserable sort of smith's shop, which is about 10 feet square. The greater portion of this was taken up by a large furnace, but that is cleared away, and with the help of mud for plaster I hope to make it weather-tight; at any rate, it will be warmer than a tent. I

have a pleasant little task before me, *i. e.*, to go down to-night to Kamiesch Bay on duty, and as it will be pitch dark before I start, and it is upwards of 7 miles from here, with no road and rugged ground, I don't anticipate much pleasure from it.

I think I omitted to state, in my letter on Inkermann, that there was one feature peculiar to that battle. I mean that the English troops were all in their great-coats, and not in red as usual, in consequence of their having turned out before daybreak in that dress on account of the rain ; the majority of the Guards and 4th Division had come out of the trenches, where they had been on duty for 24 hours, and were also in great-coats. I know but of one exception to this, in the person of an officer who greatly distinguished himself both at the battles of the Alma and Inkermann, Captain Lindsey, of the Scotch Fusileer Guards. It certainly was a great disadvantage to those in command, as, what with the fog and smoke, it was difficult to distinguish beyond a few yards, friend from foe. The whole of our force engaged with the enemy during that eventful day did not amount to more than 8000 men. The brigade of Guards, who suffered more than any other, consisted only of 1230 rank and file, *viz.* : the Gre-

nadiers had in action 380 men ; the Fusileers and Coldstream together, 750 ; besides these, there was one strong picket of the Grenadiers, under the command of Prince Edward of Saxe Weimar, guarding the Careening Bay ravine ; there were also two or three pickets of the Fusileers and Coldstream overlooking the valley of the Tchernaya. But none of these pickets could be said to be actually engaged. The 2nd Division scarcely amounted to 2000 bayonets ; the 4th Division only brought into battle 1400 men ; while the Light Division consisted of about 1900 men. The Royal Artillery may perhaps have had, at the very outside, 1200 men engaged ; we may add to these the brigade of Light Cavalry of 350 horses, but they can hardly be considered as sharing in the battle, as although they were much under fire, they never met the enemy. The whole of this number together, which I am sure is quite the outside, amounts to 8080. According to the French return, they had actually engaged, including artillery, 5700 men ; later in the day, as you may remember, a brigade of 3000 bayonets and two batteries of guns were brought up to the field, but were kept in reserve, and indeed were never under fire.

You may perhaps wonder how it was that we

could bring so few men into action, but it must be remembered that the brigade of Highlanders, mustering over 2000 men, was down at Balaklava ; the 3rd Division, of 3400 men, occupied the heights in rear of our trenches, to give support in the event of the enemy making a sortie from the town, which it was thought was not unlikely to be done. Besides these, men to the amount of 3600, who belonged to the divisions engaged at the battle of Inkermann, were in the trenches on various duties ; to these must be added 2000 more, employed as regimental camp guards, officers' servants, &c., in all 11,000 men, who were not engaged, which, added to the 8000 in action, will give the amount of the British Army before Sevastopol *effective* at that time.

I must tell you an instance of Lord Raglan's great coolness on that eventful day. He was sitting on horseback, in the midst of a battery of artillery, watching our men working the guns. A very heavy fire was being directed against this part of the field, both from the enemy's cannon and also from small-arms. One of his staff suggested the propriety of his not putting himself in quite so dangerous and conspicuous a place, especially as it appeared from the number of bullets which came singing by us that

he was a mark for the enemy's riflemen. Lord Raglan however merely said, "Yes, they seem firing at us a little, but I think I get a better view here than in most places." So there he continued for some time, and then turning his horse, rode along the whole length of the ridge at a foot's pace, and consequently exposed himself as much as ever. It was stated by several officers of the Artillery (with what truth I can't say) that the Russians had a battery of guns which always kept firing at the Staff. This might easily be the case in spite of the fog, as they were the only body of horsemen, with the exception of the artillery, that could have been seen by the enemy; and certainly the number of casualties that occurred round Lord Raglan, would seem to confirm this statement.

I should also tell you an instance of great self-possession on the part of a sergeant, I think of the 7th Fusileers. It was towards the close of the battle, and Lord Raglan was returning from taking leave of poor General Strangways, and was going up towards the ridge. A sergeant approached us carrying canteens of water to take up for the wounded, and as Lord Raglan passed, he drew himself up to make the usual salute, when a round shot came

bounding over the hill and knocked his forage-cap off his head. The man calmly picked up his cap, dusted it on his knee, placed it carefully on his head, and then made the military salute, and all without moving a muscle of his countenance. Lord Raglan was delighted with the man's coolness, and said to him, "A near thing that, my man." "Yes, my Lord," replied the sergeant, with another salute, "but a miss is as good as a mile."

One of the most painful things during the action was the number of wounded horses. Some of the poor creatures went grazing about the field, limping on three legs, one having been broken or carried away by shot; others, galloping about, screaming with fright and terror. At times, some would attach themselves to the Staff, as if desirous of company, and one poor beast, who had its nose and mouth shot away, used to come in amongst us, and rub its gory head against our horses' flanks; he was ordered to be killed by one of the escort, which was of course done.

I could tell you numberless anecdotes of the battle, but, doubtless you will see plenty of them in the public prints, and I will not therefore trouble you with any more.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
November 18th, 1854.

I am sorry to say that this time I have to tell you of a great disaster which has happened to us by sea and land. We have had one of the most destructive hurricanes that can well be imagined; indeed, I think it is a wonder that we have any ships left, and considering how entirely the army depend upon the transports and fleet generally for their resources, it is a mercy that it was no worse. It was on Tuesday last (14th inst.), at about 6 A.M., that it commenced to blow hard upon the plateau, but the storm began an hour earlier at sea. As I had been out till very late the night before, or rather until early in the morning, I did not get up as soon as usual. It was about 7 A.M. when my servant woke me, and said I had better make haste and dress, or my tent would be blown down, and that already a great many had fallen. From the furious flapping of my canvas walls, I immediately saw the truth of what he said, and lost no time in dressing myself; an affair of only a few minutes, as I lay down in a portion of my clothes. Upon going out of my tent a scene of confusion presented itself, such as I had never before witnessed. Of the Head-quarter Camp, consisting

of some forty or fifty tents, scarce one remained standing. Officers and men were running about, some in the most scanty attire, after fugitive pieces of furniture, or stray articles of clothing. The wind increased every moment, and the air was filled with every sort of thing. I saw a great quantity of what appeared to be pieces of paper at first sight, but during a momentary lull, these came flop on the ground, and proved to be canvas tents; another gust of wind came, and they were once more carried away. Some of the Commissariat stacks of stores, provisions, &c., vanished altogether: great barrels might be seen bounding along like cricket-balls, and disappeared heaven knows where. Several of the roofs of the sheds about Head-quarters were blown clean away, and at times it was doubted whether the house itself would not be blown down, but fortunately, from the fact of its only having a basement story, it stood the fury of the gale without much damage.

Up to 9 A.M. my tent continued to stand. I had had it pitched in the angle of two old walls, and they doubtless protected it from immediate destruction, but now my servant came to tell me that it was just going. I went to take a parting look at the

habitation I had occupied for the last five weeks ; the next blast, and all was over. I must say one had a sort of feeling of desolation at seeing all one's little property scattered about, and most of it completely ruined. It was out of the question attempting to move about the camp, as it continued to blow with the greatest fury, raining in torrents till past mid-day, after which time the weather moderated somewhat, but soon it began to snow and was bitterly cold. This added to our other misfortunes. Two orderlies who were sent with letters to Balaklava were obliged to come back, after having been almost two or three hours, as their horses were unable to stand against the fury of the gale, in crossing what we call the Col, which is the part of the edge of the plateau, over which runs the road from Balaklava to Sevastopol. One man stated that his horse had twice been blown completely over, and that he himself fully expected to be carried off his horse at every successive gust.

Early in the afternoon I rode out to the different camps ; the ground was in a most dreadful state of slush, and it was with no little difficulty that I reached the right of our position. Out of all the camps, both English and French, consisting of many thousands

of tents, I don't think a dozen had stood during the gale. Everywhere the hospital marquees had been blown down, for, from their size and bulk, they are less capable of resisting the wind than perhaps any other. Our poor sick and wounded soldiers were consequently exposed to the weather, and I fear many deaths were hastened, and all had their sufferings increased, by this sad catastrophe. The light cavalry camp on the heights presented the most melancholy aspect; the unfortunate horses looked like drowned rats; a quantity of the saddlery and accoutrements had been blown to the winds, no one knew where. Several of the horses were dying, if not already dead; the forage was destroyed, so that nothing could be given to the unhappy animals to eat.

Towards 4 P.M. the storm had so far abated that many of the tents were able to be put up again; this was done as regards the hospital marquees first; and I believe that before night all the sick and wounded were once more under shelter. It still, however, continued to rain and snow till late in the night, and consequently scarce a man in the army had anything to eat or drink, except his ration biscuit and rum, and many had even lost these. As to

[illegible]

trenches and outposts of the army during the hurricane. Many men were carried into camp on stretchers from being paralysed by cold, and several died in consequence. A man of the 8th Hussars was found dead in the morning from cold, and several others died on the heights above Balaklava from the same cause. Twenty-four horses of the Royal Artillery and thirty-five of the cavalry division, died during the day and night of the 14th. Numbers of men had to go into hospital with paralysed limbs.

The first desertion from our army, that we know of, took place yesterday afternoon : a private of the 79th Highlanders went over to the enemy before Balaklava. He was not seen by our sentries until he had got some little way off, and, although fired upon several times, managed to get away apparently unhurt.

The loss in our transport service is enormous. Off Balaklava alone eight ships have gone down :—

1. *Prince*. Screw steamer of 2700 tons ; 160 souls lost, only 7 saved out of the crew. Her cargo consisted of upwards of 700 tons of warm clothing for the army, and 300 tons of powder, besides a great quantity of medical stores. She arrived off Bala-

klava on the 8th instant, and the same day disembarked the 46th regiment, which she had brought out.

2. *Rip van Winkle*. Ship of 1400 tons ; 60 hands on board, all lost.

3. *Progress*. Ship of 955 tons ; all hands lost but 2 men ; cargo, compressed hay from England.

4. *Resolute*. Ship of 600 tons ; 25 hands, all lost. This was a powder-ship.

5. *Wild Wave*. Ship of 600 tons ; 25 hands, all lost but 1 boy.

6. *Peltona*. Screw steamer of 470 tons ; crew saved ; cargo, 1000 bags of biscuit.

7. *Wanderer*. Barque of 420 tons ; all hands lost.

8. *Kenilworth*. Barque ; all lost. Besides these seven other transports lost their masts, but saved their crews and cargoes.

Of her Majesty's ships, the "Retribution," "Niger," and "Vesuvius," were all at anchor off the harbour, and rode out the gale, but not without serious damage. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was on board the "Retribution," with two of his staff. He had gone down for change of air on the 7th instant, as he had not been well. It was observed in the morning that there was one

Russian line-of-battle ship less in the harbour of Sevastopol, so that it was supposed that it had gone down during the gale.

The Commissary-General, Mr. Filder, came up to Head-quarters, and had a long conversation with Lord Raglan and General Airey, Quartermaster-General, as to the losses the commissariat had sustained by the gale, and to see what steps could be taken in order to replace that which had gone down. Lord Raglan at once decided that an officer of the Quartermaster-General's department should immediately go to Constantinople, and purchase everything in the shape of great-coats and covering that could be found, and Mr. Filder was to use every effort to replace the hay and provisions, by sending officers to different places to procure them at any price. In the afternoon Lord Raglan rode through the different camps on the plateau, and made every arrangement in his power to alleviate the discomfort of the troops, and by his cheering manner and hopeful expressions contributed not a little to encourage many who, from our late misfortunes, were somewhat cast down.

On the 16th Lord Raglan received a communication from Sir Edmund Lyons detailing further losses

incurred by the transport service of the Katcha river, where also the greater portion of the English fleet was lying. Five transports had gone ashore between the Katcha and Cape Constantine, but the crews were saved from all. The greater portion of the cargoes were also saved by the boats from the English fleet. Two, that did not go to pieces, were set on fire by orders of the Admiral, and burnt to the water's edge, so that they should not fall into the enemy's hands. Of the English fleet her Majesty's ships "Trafalgar," "Queen," "London," "Terrible," and "Sampson," were all considerably damaged; the three first lost their rudders, and were otherwise a good deal knocked about. The French loss at sea, during the gale, it is difficult at present to estimate. At Kamiesch Bay upwards of twenty of their transports were driven on shore, but, as they were all very small, probably most of them will be got off again without very much damage. Two of their large transports, outside the bay, foundered with their crews and cargoes. The French fleet, off the Katcha, suffered in about the same proportion as ours: four ships of the line were more or less badly injured; at Eupatoria they suffered more severely, for there they lost the "Henri IV.," three-decker, of 100 guns,

and also the "Pluton," steam sloop of war, both of which went ashore between four and five miles south of that town. However, they lost but few men, as the gale abated shortly after they were stranded. A line-of-battle ship of the Turkish navy was totally lost off Eupatoria, with almost her entire crew.

I think I have now pretty well told you the disasters which befell the Allies during the hurricane of the 14th, though it is impossible to say when we shall recover from the effects of it. In the afternoon of the 16th Major Wetherall (Assistant Quarter-master-General) left for Constantinople to buy warm clothing of every description for the use of the troops, to replace, as far as possible, the clothing lost on board the "Prince," until fresh supplies arrive from England. Lord Raglan went down the same day to Balaklava and had interviews with Sir Colin Campbell, commanding the troops, and Captain Dacres, senior naval officer in the port. The ships in harbour presented a most mournful appearance; even those that had been in there during the gale had all, more or less, been damaged. The harbour was full of pieces of wreck and bundles of hay floating about. Lord Raglan gave directions that, as far as practicable, these were to be collected: the

wood to be stacked for the use of the hospitals. As a proof of the fury of the gale, even inside the harbour, I may mention that a row of poplars of great size and strength, in the most sheltered part of Balaklava, were blown down!

Yesterday (17th) we had several deserters who came in from the town and north side of Sevastopol; they all gave us accounts of misfortunes that had happened to them, similar to those which had befallen us, and they said that the "Gabriel," 84-gun ship, had been sunk at the entrance of the harbour, to fill up the place of the "Siliestria" (80 guns), which had been driven out of its position during the gale of the 14th. Except this they gave us no information worth speaking of, but one, a Pole, asked if it was true that "the English always cut off the ears of the prisoners they took," as he had been informed in Sevastopol. When we laughed at this, and asked who had told him, he replied that their officers had asserted it on parade! Several other of the deserters concurred in this.

An unfortunate wounded Russian was found low down one of the ravines, near the ruins of Inkermann, by a picket. He was carried up to the 2nd Division hospital, and is going on favourably: the

poor creature, having been wounded on the 5th instant, was nearly starved to death. Curious enough, a dead man of the Guards was found lying close to him; how he could have got so far away from his regiment is unaccountable.

It is some time since I referred to the siege: one may almost say that it is at a standstill. We never fire into the town except in reply to the enemy, and it is now apparently an acknowledged thing that each side just answers the fire of the other, and directly one ceases the other does so also. This, however, only refers to our guns, for a smart fusillade is continually going on between the sharpshooters in our musketry trenches and the Russian rifle-pits. It is difficult to say who has the best of it: our men are very sanguine, and declare they are perpetually "*bowling over*" the Russians. We have daily a few casualties from their riflemen. The enemy continue to repair and improve the defences of the town, so that they appear just as perfect, and probably more formidable, than ever. They have placed *abatis* in front of the Round Tower, Redan, and Flag-Staff batteries, but this is not looked upon as any great impediment, as a few rounds of gun-shell would make openings at any part.

It is wonderful how few of the generals who came out with the army are at this moment doing duty with it. The following is the list of those who have died, or are incapacitated at the present moment :— Sir George Brown, wounded, on board the “*Agamemnon* ;” Sir De Lacy Evans, going home (by this mail, I believe), completely knocked up ; his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, going home also for the recovery of his health ; Generals Bentinck, Torrens, and Adams, gone down to Scutari, wounded ; Sir George Cathcart, Generals Strangways and Goldie, killed in action ; General Tylden, dead of cholera ; Lord De Ros and General Cator gone home from ill health. All this necessarily must harass Lord Raglan, independently of the fact that he has to replace the absent generals, by officers who, comparatively speaking, have had but little experience. Still he is as cheerful as ever, looks wonderfully well, and is always hard at work. I think it is very problematical when we shall take the town ; certainly not for a long time. The good people of England are much too sanguine, and have no idea of the difficulties to be overcome before we can hope for a successful result. They seem quite to forget how small our force is for so great an undertaking ;

besides, we have an army of the enemy in our rear, much more numerous than the Allies, with certainly as much artillery, and *ten* times as much cavalry; the town we are besieging is of great extent, and with unparalleled resources in men and the munitions of war.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
November 23rd, 1854.

As usual I must bore you with extracts from my journal.

November 19th (Sunday).—We had morning service as usual at head-quarters. Mr. Wright, principal chaplain to the forces out here, officiated. He is deservedly much liked by all who know him. I afterwards rode over to the field of Inkermann. The redoubts are nearly completed, and the battery constructed for us by the French is quite elaborately finished off. The day was fine, and it was cheering once more to see our men apparently comfortable for the time being. Late this evening the arrival of the 79th regiment was announced: they have come direct from Athens, and muster in all near 1200 men. The “Queen of the South” steam-transport also arrived at Balaklava, with drafts for the brigade of

Guards and other regiments, upwards of 800 men. Several Polish deserters came in to us again to-day from the town; the following is a summary of what they said:—The garrison of Sevastopol are getting very tired of the siege; their losses have been immense; out of the crews of the ships, which mustered on our arrival nearly 15,000 men, the larger portion of whom have been since that time employed in working the guns in the batteries opposed to the Allies, not more than 7000 men now remain. The rest have been killed, died of disease, or are in hospital sick or wounded. They also said that in some of the batteries their losses had been so great that the men employed there declared that, if the siege lasted much longer, they would spike their own guns sooner than remain to serve them. They added, they had been told by their officers that the Emperor himself was coming with a whole corps d'armée of 47,000 men, and then he would drive the Allies into the sea. It appears, too, that General Lüders arrived with a portion of his division from Odessa, two days ago, at the Russian camp on the north side of the harbour of Sevastopol, and the remainder is expected in a day or two. They state that this division musters 18,000 bayonets, and that in a few days it

is to come into the town and relieve the same number of men now forming a part of the garrison ; and that an order has been issued that every month's duty in Sevastopol shall count as a year's service ; but, as the men very naïvely remarked, " what is the good of that, if we remain to be killed ? " One man told us that our 3-gun battery on the left of our left attack, which fires up the ravine between the French and English trenches, does them more harm than any other, as it continually throws shot and shell into the arsenal and dockyard, where large bodies of men are constantly employed in making gun-platforms, carriages, &c. &c. He said that we ought to have 8 or 10 guns there instead of 3, and that he would point out the places where the guns would do most damage. He informed us also that the Russians have constructed what are called *fougasses pierriers** in the front of all their principal works, which of course would be exploded in the event of our assaulting the town.

* *Fougasse pierrier* is a small mine in which the chambers are placed a few feet under the ground, and the axis of whose crater is inclined to the horizon at an angle of 45°. It is filled with heavy stones, which, when the mine is fired, blow outwards against any advancing body of men.

This same man stated, like a former deserter, that, had we attacked the town after Inkermann, we might have taken it with ease, as the garrison found out in the course of the 6th the frightful losses they had sustained. He said that one battalion returned with only 90 men, that had gone out before the battle 650 strong. I should warn you that all intelligence given by deserters must not be taken *au pied de la lettre*, as doubtless they often invent things which they think will please us, and it is also possible that occasionally the enemy may send in men on purpose to give us false information, in the hope that we may be misled by their statements. Still, one can generally ascertain the truth by comparing the evidence of different deserters.

November 20th.—Two Russian soldiers were found this morning in one of the ravines near Inkermann, half hid in a sort of hole. They had been wounded in the battle on the 5th instant; one had a shattered knee and the other was badly contused in the leg; both were therefore unable to crawl any distance. They had lived during these 15 days on the coarse bread and arrack with which the Russian troops are always provided.

November 21st.—Last night a very spirited attack

was made upon a large Russian rifle-pit, called by us "The Ovens," for what reason I cannot say. It is a sort of half-cavern in the side of a ravine, with stone huts about it, and in these for the last few days have been placed a considerable number of Russian sharpshooters, who have not a little annoyed the men in a portion of our trenches in the left attack, and caused numbers of casualties among the French in their advanced parallel. There might have been room for some 200 men in the "Ovens." The attack was made by a strong company of the Rifle Brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Tryon; they advanced in the most determined manner, and drove out the enemy, who was probably taken by surprise. A good deal of fighting ensued, in which the Russians suffered severely, leaving behind them many killed and wounded. Poor Tryon, when in the act of firing at the retreating troops, was shot himself through the forehead and fell dead on the spot. The command then devolved upon Lieutenant Bouchier, a very young officer, who showed considerable ability and judgment in the way he directed his men in repelling the repeated endeavours of the Russians to retake the post. They came back several times during the night in con-

siderable force, but were met with such steady fire from these men of the Rifle Brigade, that they never regained for a moment any portion of the contested ground. Lieutenant Tryon is a great loss to his regiment, where he was much beloved; he was one of the best shots in the army, and it is stated by many men of his own company that he had himself killed over 100 Russians. At the battle of Inkermann he had the command of a party of men on some ground to the left front of the 2nd Division camp, and employed himself during the whole day in firing at the Russian artillerymen; he had two of his men to load for him, and they say that he knocked over 30 Russians besides wounding several others. We lost in this affair last night 7 men killed and 10 wounded. All this day the Russians have been shelling our left attack and the newly-captured ground, thus showing their disgust at our success. Fortunately, however, their heavy fire did us but little harm.

November 22nd.—Last night the enemy again tried to retake what they had lost the night before, and sent out a strong body of men (400 or 500) to attack our troops at the “Ovens;” however, they were met, when within a few yards, by so destructive

a fusillade, that they speedily retired, followed by the greater portion of our men, who got possession of some ground 100 yards nearer the town and occupied several Russian rifle-pits. These we still hold, and they have been turned so as to protect the men in them from the enemy's view, and they are now firing into the Russian embrasures at a distance of 450 yards, whenever one of the enemy appear at a gun. Our casualties amounted to 3 men killed and 22 wounded ; this, however, includes yesterday.

To-day (23rd) the weather, as usual, is dreadful. It has now rained almost without intermission for three whole days, and consequently everything is saturated with wet. In spite of this, Lord Raglan was out yesterday and the day before riding through the camps in front of the town and visiting the commanding officers of different regiments. The state of the roads is past all description, so much so that it is hard work for one's horse to carry one from here to Balaklava and back, a distance of little more than ten miles altogether. You may imagine therefore the difficulties which the commissariat meet with ; it is as much as ever they can do to supply the troops with their rations, as it is next to impossible to get the transport animals to carry up decent loads.

Numbers of these die daily from over-work and the perpetual exposure to the weather ; the same may be said of the cavalry horses, especially as regards the remnant of the Light Brigade, encamped near the 2nd Division. Lord Raglan wished much, some little time ago, to move them down to the nearest available spot close to Balaklava, as they would then be more easily supplied with forage, but General Canrobert made it a particular request that they might be retained on the ground which they now occupy ; and, in reply to Lord Raglan's argument that they were in too weak a state to be really efficient, he said, that, as doubtless the enemy were kept fully informed of our movements by their spies, the fact of their knowing that we had cavalry at this point would tend to prevent their attacking us. Lord Raglan hardly liked to thwart General Canrobert's wishes, as he had lately rendered us so much assistance on the right.

The new mounted Staff-corps landed themselves and horses to-day at Balaklava ; it consists of 100 men taken from the mounted police force of Ireland. I saw them this morning ; they appear to be a fine body of men, but are inferiorly mounted on small Spanish horses. I think it is very questionable whe-

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ther they will succeed, though they are intended to be employed in the same way as the French gendarmerie.

General Canrobert this morning issued a General Order eulogizing the conduct of our Rifles on the night of the 20th instant, and paying a high compliment to their courage and determination; and lamenting in just terms the death of Lieutenant Tryon. This, I think, is the first occasion on record of a French General particularizing the bravery of a British officer of poor Tryon's rank, and one that must prove to his family a source of pride and gratification, and may perhaps soften the blow of his untimely death.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
November 28th, 1854.

Still horrid weather; rain day after day, with occasional slight falls of snow. You must not be bored with my constant mention of the weather, for you must remember that on it depends our comfort, and indeed, I may almost say, our existence. The roads, or rather what were the roads, are nothing more than deep tracks of mud, perpetually blocked

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up by the carcasses of animals that have died on the way. Fatigue parties are constantly employed in endeavouring to diminish these evils, but it would require the incessant work of 1000 men to keep the roads in decent order, and I need scarcely say that we have not a single man that can be properly spared from the duties of the siege. Our unfortunate badly-clad troops suffer much from the inclemency of the weather. You would scarcely recognise in the careworn, threadbare, ragged men, who form the staple of the English forces in the Crimea, the smart soldiers that left England but a few months ago. The loss of the "Prince" has been one of the greatest disasters that could possibly have happened to us, as she had clothing for the entire army, and which, before this time, the troops would have received, and would therefore be more capable of enduring the severity of the climate. Up to the present time we have had no very cold weather, but I think this wet is more trying, as the men are really never dry: many of the camps are literally morasses; the accumulation of mud everywhere is something wonderful: you plunge about from tent to tent in mud, you sit in mud, you live in mud, and I might almost add you eat mud, for the water you drink is

muddy, and your servant generally manages to mud your dinner.

Some of the troops are beginning to make huts for themselves in their spare time. The general mode of constructing them is as follows : they dig a trench some 20 feet long, 10 broad, and 3 deep ; then build a wall of loose stones inside the trench, and raise it 2 feet above the ground, and then the earth is thrown outside the wall, and banked up against it, so that the sides of the hut are quite airtight. A roof is then put on in the usual way ; it is made, when procurable, with planks, but more frequently, from the want of the former, brushwood is used, supported on small rafters, and afterwards covered with earth, plastered down. The hut is then completed, as no fireplace is put up, it being usually made in the centre of the hut, the smoke escaping, after the Irish fashion, by the doorway. From this account you would fancy that they are not very comfortable, which indeed is generally the case, but when the huts have been carefully constructed it is wonderful how warm they are. The Turks especially are great adepts at making these residences ; it is the only thing that I know of which these gentry do well. You must not fancy from the fore-

going that our men have been able to make many of these ; I am sorry to say it is quite the exception to the rule to find even one in each regiment.

Sickness is greatly on the increase, and the cholera has, I am sorry to say, broken out very badly in the 3rd and 4th Divisions ; the 44th regiment has lost 19 men dead since yesterday morning, and from 12 to 15 have died in other regiments from the same cause. Every morning men are brought in, who have been either on picket or in the trenches during the night, with paralysed limbs ; consequently our hospitals are crowded with inmates, and it is with the utmost difficulty that they can be removed from the front down to Balaklava for shipment to Scutari, on account of the dreadful state of the roads. Lord Raglan has been several times to the different divisional hospitals during the last week, and has used his best endeavours to get the surgeons supplied with the medical stores which they so much require. Yesterday he held a Council of War, at his Headquarters, of all the generals of the different Divisions. I understand it was chiefly to impress upon them the desirability of reducing as much as possible the camp guards and orderlies, so as to give our men less duty. I may mention as an instance of how careful

he is not to employ a single man more than necessary, that at Head-quarters there is only one sentry to Lord Raglan's house, whereas the French general has sentries at each of the doors of his different tents.

Since my last letter we have received a reinforcement of infantry, consisting of the 9th regiment from Malta of 540 men, and a battalion of Turks 1000 strong.

I have scarcely alluded to the siege this time : our works progress, although but slowly ; the vessel which brought the 9th regiment from Malta, also supplied us with a large quantity of guns and ammunition. These are being nightly taken into our trenches to replace those that have been disabled and used up in our batteries since the commencement of the siege. The redoubts on our right are nearly completed ; the French have constructed an advanced battery which they hope to open in the course of a few days, and which is to fire against the Inkermann Lighthouse battery on the other side (north side) of the head of the harbour of Sevastopol. The Russians have increased the strength of this battery lately from three to five heavy guns, and from these they continually annoy our pickets by firing at them whenever they are visible. On the night of the 24th

the enemy made no less than three sorties, each in considerable strength, on the right of the French trenches. A heavy fire of musketry was kept up the whole night, and each time, after a momentary lull, the Russians made a rush forward, under cover of a tremendous cannonade, from their batteries. Twice during the night they penetrated nearly to the 2nd parallel, but there they were always received by the guard of the trenches, and had to retire precipitately, followed by our allies almost up to the defences of the town. Strange to say, in this apparently desperate encounter and heavy fire on both sides, the losses of either party seem to have been very small. Our allies only acknowledged some thirty casualties, and, to judge from the very few Russians dead, it would seem that they suffered no more.

END OF VOL. I.





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